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PHILO

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PHILO

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

F. H. COLSON, M.A.
LATE FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

AND

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IN TEN VOLUMES

I

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PREFACE TO VOLS. I. AND II.

The number of persons who have read or will read Philo's works from beginning to end is probably very small, but there are many more who may wish to refer to them occasionally and in both these classes there is always likely to be a large proportion who will welcome a translation. And if this be granted, it will hardly be disputed that the time has come for a new version. The only English version known to us is that of C. D. Yonge (1854), and this is out of print and copies appear to be scarce. Yonge's work has considerable merits, but there is much that requires correction, and he had before him a less trustworthy text than that which is available at the present day. Moreover, his way of reproducing Philo's long and involved sentences in the exact form of the Greek seems to us to make the treatises duller and heavier than they need be. We have adopted a somewhat different method, without, we hope, sacrificing faithfulness to the original.

We must not, however, omit to mention the German translation by various hands, edited till his death by Cohn, which is still in progress. We have found this useful in many ways, but our chief debt is to the notes and the references which they give to Plato and the later Greek philosophers. Though a translation is not a commentary, the reader of Philo is not fairly dealt with, if his attention is not called to the fact that the author is constantly quoting or adapting Plato and

the Stoic writers. Our account of these quotations and adaptations is probably very incomplete, but it would have been far more so without the help which the German translators have given us.

The publication of the great edition of Cohn and Wendland (1896–1914), which has now superseded that of Mangey, has left us little difficulty with regard to the text. Generally speaking, we have both of us adopted the readings of this edition, even when we have felt some hesitation, though where that hesitation has amounted to something like conviction, we have occasionally with the aid of the very complete apparatus criticus supplied by the editors adopted readings which they had rejected, and in such cases our text is often nearer to the MSS. than theirs. We have also introduced a few emendations of our own, all of which are indicated in the footnotes.

It should be understood that our translation is not a collaboration in the fullest sense of the word. Each of us has carefully read and criticized the work of the other, and many of these criticisms have been accepted as improvements or corrections. But on the whole each of us remains responsible for his own work both in text and translation and not for that of his colleague. In Volume I. the whole of the translation is by Mr. Whitaker and Mr. Colson's contribution, apart from the criticisms and suggestions just mentioned, is confined to the General Introduction, a share in the Tables of Reference and a considerable part of the notes in the Appendices. In Volume II. the three treatises *De Cherubim*, *De Sacrificiis* and *De Gigantibus* are translated by Mr. Colson and the other two by Mr. Whitaker.

F. H. C.
G. H. W.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

It has probably seldom happened that the characteristics of a man's home and birthplace have been so faithfully reflected in his writings as they are in the writings of Philo of Alexandria. A citizen of the place which was at once the chief home of the Jewish Dispersion and the chief centre of Hellenistic culture, he owes his position in the history of religious thought mainly to that remarkable fusion of Hellenism and Judaism which we find in his voluminous writings. He has many other claims on our consideration—he is one of the most spiritually-minded of thinkers—but this is the first and most obvious.

It is not necessary to discuss the little that is known of Philo's life. It will be enough to say that he came of a rich and influential Jewish family and was trained in Greek as well as Jewish learning. The one public event in his life was his taking part in an embassy sent by the Jews of Alexandria to Caligula to complain of the persecutions which they had been suffering. This is dated A.D. 39-40, and as Philo in writing his account of the mission at some time later speaks of himself as an old man,[a] it has been generally held that he was born about 20 B.C. The date of his death is uncertain, but it will be seen that his lifetime

[a] *Leg. ad Gaium* 31; *cf. ibid.* 182.

covers the lifetimes of Jesus Christ and John Baptist, and much of that of St. Paul. There is no intimation that he knew anything of their life or work.

The present introduction is intended to serve mainly for the first three of the six volumes of Cohn's text.[a] These three volumes containing twenty-two treatises will probably occupy five volumes of this translation. These treatises, which are fairly homogeneous, do not aim at any continuous or systematic body of thought. They are expositions of what Philo conceives to be the inner and spiritual meaning of various incidents and texts in Genesis. So far his method is consistent enough. Unfortunately, perhaps—though it is a fault which is rather lovable—he is an inveterate rambler. This word does not mean that the thoughts are disconnected. In fact it is the mark of the true rambler that his points are always connected, and that he is unable to restrain

[a] But it may be well to indicate the contents of the remaining three volumes of Cohn:

(*a*) Biographical treatises, *viz.*, On Abraham. On Joseph. Two books on the Life of Moses (vol. iv.).

(*b*) Treatises on the Mosaic Legislation, *viz.*, On the Decalogue (vol. iv.). Four books on the Special Laws (vol. v.).

(*c*) Philosophical treatises, *viz.*, On the Virtues. On Rewards, Punishments and Curses (in vol. v.). On "Goodness is Freedom" ("Quod omnis probus liber sit"). On the Contemplative Life (a work largely on the Therapeutae, which has given rise to much controversy). On the Eternity of the World (sometimes regarded as spurious). The last two make up vol. vi., together with the following:

(*d*) Political treatises, *viz.*, Against Flaccus. On the Embassy to Gaius.

[Besides these there are "On Providence" and "Questions on Genesis and Exodus." As these only survive in the Armenian and are only known through the Latin translation by Aucher, they will not form part of this translation.]

himself from following up each connexion as it occurs. Philo takes his text and expounds its philosophical meaning and proceeds to illustrate it from some other text, in which he discerns the same idea. But this second text generally contains some other words in which he finds some other idea, too valuable to be passed over. The process might, of course, go on indefinitely, but even Philo feels that there must be some limit to it and ultimately returns to his main subject.

It may be well to illustrate this characteristic by a single specimen, neither worse nor better than hundreds of others. Let the reader turn to p. 409 of this volume, *i.e. Leg. All.* iii. lv. § 161, where Philo has arrived at the words of the Lord to the serpent, interpreted as the evil principle of pleasure, " earth shalt thou eat all the days of thy life." That Philo should pass at once to the implied contrast between the lower and the higher food of the soul is natural enough, and thus we are at once switched off to the Manna story of Ex. xvi. All the details of this are worked out; for instance, how the command to the wanderers to gather only the day's portion for the day suggests that humanity cannot receive God's gifts all at once, but only in due measure and proportion, and other thoughts which the reader may observe for himself. But then let him note how in 169, taking the text " this is the bread which the Lord hath given you to eat; this is the word which the Lord prescribed," Philo at once identifies the " word " with the " bread " and extracts a new set of thoughts about the " word." So far, though the primary " serpent " has been forgotten, the secondary " manna " has on the whole held the field. But in

177 we are again switched off by the thought of the "word" or "logos" to one of Philo's more mystical ideas, that God Himself is greater than His Word, and this is supported by the prayer of Jacob where the phrase "*God* who feeds me" coupled with "the *Angel* who delivers me from evils" teaches us that health, bodily and spiritual, is God's direct gift, while rescue from evil comes to us indirectly. Then in 179, another transition, Jacob's prayer acknowledges God and is in contrast with the words of that inferior character Joseph,[a] "*I* will nourish thee (Jacob)." And so too Joseph's mother Rachel erred when she said to Jacob "give me children," and thus what has begun as an exposition of "earth shalt thou eat" ends with one of Philo's favourite ideas that God is the parent of virtue in the soul, though, unlike earthly parents, He begets not for Himself, but for us.

The above may serve to illustrate, not only Philo's method, but the nature and value of his deductions from Scripture. Their ingenuity is undeniable; so also is their fancifulness and even perversity, when measured by the canons of sound exegesis; and the estimates of readers will vary according as they are attracted by the first or repelled by the second. But if we would appreciate Philo fully we must remember that he combines the strongest possible belief in the inspiration of the Scriptures with the freest possible criticism. Every word of the Scriptures, particularly

[a] Philo's constant depreciation of Joseph and Rachel in favour of Judah and Leah is a curious feature and shows us how little consciousness he had of the charm which we feel in the story of the former pair. Was there some national or tribal prejudice at the bottom of it?

those which he attributes to the "all-wise" Moses,[a] is to him inspired, and quite as much in the God-guided translation of the Seventy as in the original Hebrew, which he knew but little, if at all. This belief is part of his very nature, and his patriotic instincts served to confirm it. But at the same time he is profoundly conscious that the sacred words, when taken in their literal sense, are occasionally incredible, and not infrequently trivial, or at any rate inadequate, and therefore *must* conceal some "underlying thought,"[b] which patient meditation, aided by God's grace, cannot fail to extract.

It follows that the statements of fact in these inspired narratives need not be literally true. Creation cannot, he says, have taken place in six natural days, for days are measured by the sun's course and the sun is but a portion of creation.[c] The literal story of Adam's rib being made into Eve he flatly calls "mythical."[d] Sometimes perhaps he is over-critical. The account of Joseph being sent by his father to visit his brethren is incredible, for why should a great chief like Jacob send his favourite son on such an errand instead of one of his numerous servants?[e] If we ask whether in a broad sense he accepted the historicity of the narratives, the answer is that he probably did. Certainly his treatment of the lives of Abraham, Joseph and Moses in the books which deal with them biographically, books in which he shows that the lives have a lesson for

[a] A glance at the table of references to the O.T. on pp. xxviii-xxxiv will show how vast is the preponderance of quotations from the Pentateuch over those from the other books.

[b] ὑπόνοια.

[c] *Leg. All.* i. 2.

[d] μυθῶδες, *Leg. All.* ii. 19.

[e] *Quod Det.* 13.

edification apart from allegory, indicates that he took them as historical, though it is suspicious to find elsewhere the statement that "*perhaps*[a] there has been an actual man, Samuel, but we understand by him a mind devoted to God's service." On the whole, a still better answer is that he did not much care about the matter. But while in his eyes it is permissible to doubt the literal, if we accept the spiritual truth, to deny both is a deadly sin, and he records with some triumph how one such scoffer was shortly by God's judgement driven to suicide.[b] Further, though the law is allegorical, its literal injunctions must not be disobeyed. Sabbath and circumcision have their inner meaning, but the actual rites are to that inner meaning as body to soul, and the body demands our care as the dwelling of the soul.[c]

If we realize this and also make due allowance for the unfamiliarity of the Platonic and Stoical dress in which his thoughts are clothed, we shall find in them not a little richness and substance. The rambling[d] sermon, half-analysed above, would be better described as a mosaic of sermonettes, some eight or ten in number. When set forth in such a brief analysis as is here given, they may, perhaps, appear poor things. But if studied in full they will be found, each of them, to contain an idea or ideas, which to some minds will appear fanciful, to others profound,

[a] Or "probably" (ἴσως), *De Ebr.* 144.

[b] *De Mut. Nom.* 62.

[c] *De Mig.* 82 f.

[d] Though in justice it should be said that these expositions in spite of their kaleidoscopic character often have some *motif* which does not exactly run through them, but always tends to re-appear. Thus in the one noticed the idea of "feeding" is never long absent.

but to hardly any, trivial. And these ideas will be none the worse for their exegetical setting. The profoundest thoughts, when stated in the abstract, are apt to seem bald and dull. They are seen at their best when set in beautiful verse as Wordsworth's, or failing this when they are brought into association with some familiar and venerated saying, which we had not suspected of bearing any such meaning. Few forms of eloquence are more effective than that in which " a mere mustard-seed of a text grows into a many-branched discourse." [a] And it may perhaps be said that much of Philo's exegesis is of a kind which a modern preacher might easily adapt, not indeed as expressing the intention of the original, but as showing how " fresh truth and light may break out of the Word." [b]

Philo is, as is here suggested, quite independently of his merits as a thinker, interesting from the mere fact that he interprets the Old Testament in terms of Greek philosophy and thus makes a link between Judaism and Hellenism. But it would be a mistake to suppose that this was his purpose. His purpose was the same as Bunyan had in *The Pilgrim's Progress* and *The Holy War*, and Dante to some extent in his *Divine Comedy*, namely, to set forth an allegory of the history of the human soul and its relations to God. But while Scripture to Bunyan and mediaeval eschatology to Dante were merely foundations on which they could rear the fabric which their own imagination

[a] George Eliot, *Felix Holt*, ch. iv.

[b] The oft-quoted words of Pastor John Robinson's farewell address to the Pilgrim Fathers, " I am very confident that the Lord has more truth and light yet to brake out of His Holy Word," would have pleased Philo well.

created, Philo, entirely devoid of creative genius,[a] could never get away from the rôle of interpreter. The fact that he clothed these interpretations in the language of Greek philosophy is merely incidental. The educational ideas, the logic, physics, psychology and ethics of his day were part of his mental make-up, and he necessarily expressed himself in their terms. But incidental as they are, it is necessary to understand them, if we are to understand Philo at all.

Underlying Philo's philosophy is the conviction of the value of general education as a stepping-stone to higher things. He accepts without question the ordinary course of education of his time, commonly called the Encyclia, consisting of literature, rhetoric, mathematics, music and logic. He enlarges several times on its value as mental training. The Encyclia are the ornaments of the soul conceived of as the house which is being fitted to receive the Divine Lodger,[b] the saplings which must be planted in young minds,[c] the milk which must precede the meat,[d] the source of that spiritual strength, the "much substance" which Israel must take for its sustenance, as it journeys out of the spiritual Egypt.[e] But above all the Encyclia are symbolized by Hagar,[f]

[a] When he attempts an allegory of his own, as in *De Sac.* 20-44, it is poor stuff. [b] *De Cher.* 101 f.
[c] *De Agr.* 18. [d] *ibid.* 9. [e] *Quis Rer.* 272.
[f] *e.g. De Cher.* 5 f. It is noteworthy that this comparison has a close parallel in one of the Homeric allegories, which were common in the philosophical schools. Some philosopher (the name is variously given) said that those who dwelt too long over the Encyclia were like the suitors of Penelope, who, when unable to win the mistress, contented themselves with the maids. How far such allegorizing of Homer influenced Philo in his treatment of the Old Testament is an interesting problem.

for as Abraham, when Sarah bore him no child, took the handmaiden, so the young soul as yet unable to mate with philosophy must have union with the school subjects, the lower or secular education.[a] True, this is only useful as a stepping-stone to philosophy. If it is persisted in too long or misused, as it well may be, particularly the rhetorical branch, it breeds the sophist Ishmael and must be cast out, as he and his mother were. But in its proper place it is valuable, and Philo's insistence on this makes him one of our chief authorities on the educational ideas of his time.

In philosophy proper Philo is an eclectic, drawing from nearly all the schools.[b] His insistence on the significance of particular numbers, 4, 7, 6, 10 and others, which to our minds is the most fantastic part of his system, is an inheritance from the Pythagoreans. He owes something to Aristotle, notably the fourfold nature of causation,[c] and the doctrine of the virtues as means between extremes.[d] His profound sense of human ignorance and weakness make him not

[a] *μέση παιδεία*. The translators have had considerable doubt as to how to render this important phrase. In strict Stoic usage *μέσα = ἀδιάφορα*, *i.e.* things which are neither good nor bad. Still sometimes the word seems to acquire the rather different force of things midway between good and bad and therefore having a definite value, though not the highest. Philo seems to use it in this way. To translate *μέση παιδεία* by "intermediate" or "secondary" education would be clearly impossible in view of the modern professional use of these words.

[b] We need not conclude from this (though some have done so) that his philosophy is a mere chaos taking at random from the different schools. His position is rather that Moses is the primary source of philosophy, and that the "little systems" of the schools are but "broken lights" of him.

[c] *De Cher.* 125. [d] *e.g. Quod Deus* 162.

disinclined to borrow from the Sceptics.[a] Platonism is a more important element. The most famous of all Plato's doctrines, the theory of Ideas, is an essential part of Philo's cosmology, and like many others he was greatly fascinated by the mysterious theories of the *Timaeus*. Above all it was chiefly from Plato that he learned to think of the body as the tomb or prison-house of the soul, and the putting off of material things as the true freedom. There is also a vast amount of Stoicism in Philo, though whether the Stoic outweighs the Platonist would be a difficult question to decide. To take a few instances out of many, the doctrines of the four passions,[b] of the sevenfold division of bodily functions,[c] of the fourfold classification of material things,[d] of sense, "presentation" and "impulse" as the three sources of consciousness and activity in living beings and of the manner in which they work,[e] are all Stoic. So too he recognizes the value of freedom from passion (ἀπάθεια), of "living according to nature," and of the "indifference" of neutral things (ἀδιάφορα). He accepts as a worthy expression of his ideal of virtue the Stoic phraseology that "the morally beautiful" (τὸ καλόν) is the only good.[f] But on the whole he is opposed to the Stoic materialism, and in what is perhaps the kernel of Stoic ethics he is profoundly anti-Stoical. Though he adapts the famous para-

[a] See particularly *De Ebr.* 154 f.

[b] Grief, fear, desire, pleasure. *Cf. Leg. All.* ii. 99, "passion is four-legged."

[c] Five senses, speech and reproductive power. See *Leg. All.* i. 11.

[d] Inorganic matter, plants, animal, reasoning. See *Leg. All.* ii. 22 f.

[e] *ibid.* 23.

[f] See particularly *De Post.* 133.

doxes of the wise man as the truly free man, the truly rich, the true king and true citizen,[a] he will have none of the Stoic apotheosis of the Sage. The creed which proclaims that "man is master of his fate and captain of his soul," which pictures the just and firm-willed man as standing unmoved among the ruins of the universe,[b] which Lucan expressed by declaring that Pompey's cause had as much moral support as Caesar's because, while the latter had heaven on his side, the former had the true Stoic Cato [c]—that creed had no attraction for Philo, or rather it was blasphemy. For there is nothing on which he harps more than on the sinfulness of ascribing any faculty or virtue to ourselves instead of to God.

In fact when Philo once begins to speak of the nature of God and our relations to Him—and seldom is there a chapter without some such meditation—the Hellene gives way almost entirely to the Hebrew, and what there is of Hellenic is much more Platonic than Stoic. His more mystical side, his absorption in the thought of the Divine and our union with it, are matters on which one can hardly enlarge here. But the ruling idea of his theology is that while God is absolutely removed from us, incomprehensible and only known as absolute being, He is also infinitely close to us, in fact at once transcendent and immanent. As is well known, Philo solved this antinomy by postulating, as intermediaries between the uncreated and the created, the Logos or Divine Reason, and also "Powers" or "Potencies," the two chief of which are goodness and sovereignty represented in the Old Testament by the names of "God" and

[a] *De Sobr.* 56 f. [b] Hor. *Odes*, iii. 3. 1-8.
[c] *Phars.* i. 128, "Victrix causa deis placuit sed victa Catoni."

" Lord " respectively. Of these intermediaries, the Logos has attracted more attention than any other Philonic question, mainly, no doubt, because of the similarity—and dissimilarity—of Philo's conception to that of the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel. Whether either the Logos or the Potencies are thought of as distinct personalities, or as emanations or attributes, cannot be discussed here.

If Philo is a link between Judaism and Hellenism, he is also a link between Judaism and Christianity, and that in two different ways. In the first place, quite apart from the relation of his Logos to the Johannine there is a certain affinity between Philonism and the New Testament, which will at once attract and disappoint the student. Philo's conceptions of Conscience as the inward Judge, of the Spirit, of Faith, of Sonship, of Immortality,[a] and many other conceptions of the same kind, are sufficiently like the uses of the same terms in the Epistles to make comparison fruitful. But except perhaps in the case of the first-named, where his attitude shows a great advance above his Stoic predecessors and a remarkable approximation to the Christian view, there are differences which to many will seem to outweigh the likeness. The same may be said of the comparatively few cases where Old Testament incidents are treated allegorically in both.[b] The same again of the far more numerous cases, where a word or phrase or an incidental thought seem to find an echo in the New Testament.[c] So far the connexion between Philo

[a] For a discussion of these conceptions see H. A. A. Kennedy, *Philo's Contribution to Religion* (Hodder and Stoughton).

[b] *e.g.*, the Brazen Serpent, Manna, the Rock, Melchisedek.

[c] *e.g.*, " hungering and thirsting after excellence " (*De*

and Christian thought is one that springs from their common heritage and atmosphere, and their common ideals and temperament. There is no direct contact or conscious borrowing. But when the first century or so of Christianity is passed we find something more. Philo becomes something of a power in the Church. It is true that the Christian mind eager to find in the Old Testament figures and types of Christ could not altogether welcome his kind of exegesis, and indeed Augustine, while acknowledging his acuteness, deplores this deficiency.[a] Still otherwise his treatment of the books made a great impression on some of the Fathers, and his Logos doctrine was, superficially at least, sufficiently like that of the Fourth Gospel to suggest that his was an "anima naturaliter Christiana." His influence is probably to be seen in Justin, and is obvious in the two great liberal Christians of Alexandria, Clement and Origen. Among the Latin Fathers, Ambrose uses him very considerably. Doubtless this feeling of his affinity to Christianity helped to preserve his works, when

Fuga 139 with Matt. v. 6); "to call the things that are not into being" (*Spec. Leg.* iv. 187 with 1 Cor. i. 28); "the true wealth is stored up in heaven" (*De Praem.* 104 with Matt. vi. 20); "God swears by no other than Himself, for there is nothing greater than Him" (*Leg. All.* iii. 203 with Heb. vi. 13); the epithet "cutter" (τομεύς) applied to the Word or Reason (*Quis Rer. Div.* 130 with Heb. iv. 12 where the word is sharper (τομωτέρα) than any sword); the bridled or unbridled tongue (*Som.* ii. 275 with James i. 26); the sadness of the thought that the same tongue utters good and evil (*De Dec.* 93 with James iii. 10). These resemblances are particularly common in the Epistle of James, Mayor's edition gives over seventy such. A collection of parallels of this kind to the New Testament as a whole is given in Siegfried's *Philo von Alexandria*, pp. 303-330.

[a] *Contra Faustum*, xii. 39.

so much of the post-Aristotelian philosophy has perished.

Philo, as a writer, has many faults besides those which have been already mentioned. He is sometimes painfully pedantic. He has an annoying way of piling up examples in support of a platitude, and the rhetorical speeches, which particularly in the biographical treatises he puts into the mouths of his personages, are stilted and frigid to the point of absurdity.[a] Yet, even when he is most pedantic, we have glimpses of a fine spiritual mind, and scattered throughout the books are passages of much beauty and eloquence. The translators hope that if they are spared to complete this version it may serve to win him some admirers among those to whom hitherto he has been little more than a name.[b]

[a] As an example of the first we may take the examples of truth or falsehood in *Leg. All.* iii. 121 ; of the second the address of Joseph to Potiphar's wife in *De Jos.* 41 ff. The former of these might almost remind one of the discourse of the Rev. Mr. Chadband in *Bleak House* on "What is terewth." Of the latter Edersheim remarks that "it would have extinguished the most ardent passion."

[b] The translators think that an apology is due to one section of their prospective readers. They have not felt themselves capable of indicating in any way how far and where Philo shows dependence on the Palestinian tradition, which in its two different aspects is known as the Haggada and Halacha. Even if their combined knowledge of Hebrew and Jewish lore was much greater than it is, the absence of any written record of this tradition till a long time after Philo puts his dependence on these sources on a totally different footing from his dependence on the Greek philosophers, for which we can so often give chapter and verse. The Jewish scholar to whom this subject will naturally be of considerable interest will find some discussion of it in the article on Philo in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* and a fuller treatment in Siegfried's *Philo von Alexandria*, pp. 142-159.

TABLES OF REFERENCE

The student of Philo constantly finds that the treatment of some Old Testament personage or text recalls a similar treatment in some earlier book or some earlier part of the same book. But the author's rambling method renders it anything but easy to trace these earlier handlings. Accordingly, since it may be a long time before the translators are in a position to give a general index to the whole of Philo, they have compiled the subjoined tables from the indexes added by Leisigang as a seventh volume to Cohn and Wendland's text. It should be carefully noted that as these tables are intended for purposes of comparison merely, they do not contain any names or texts which only occur once. Furthermore this principle has been extended to cases where, though the name or text is repeated, the repetition belongs to the same context or treatment. Thus the sections numbered are merely those in which such treatment begins, and to make a proper comparison the student will constantly have to read several sections beyond those referred to.

Abbreviations used

Abr. = De Abrahamo.
Aet. = De Aeternitate Mundi.
Agr. = De Agricultura.
Cher. = De Cherubim.
Conf. = De Confusione Linguarum.

Abbreviations used (*continued*)

Cong. = De Congressu Eruditionis gratia.
Cont. = De Vita Contemplativa.
Decal. = De Decalogo.
Det. = Quod Deterius Potiori insidiari soleat.
Deus = Quod Deus sit Immutabilis.
Ebr. = De Ebrietate.
Exs. = De Exsecrationibus.
Fug. = De Fuga et Inventione.
Gig. = De Gigantibus.
Her. = Quis rerum divinarum heres sit.
Jos. = De Josepho.
L.A. i. ii. iii. = Legum Allegoriarum.
Mig. = De Migratione Abrahami.
Mos. i. ii. = De Vita Mosis i. ii.
Mut. = De Mutatione Nominum.
Op. = De Opificio Mundi.
Plant. = De Plantatione.
Post. = De Posteritate Caini.
Praem. = De Praemiis et Poenis.
Prob. = Quod omnis probus liber.
Sac. = De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini.
Sob. = De Sobrietate.
Som. i. ii. = De Somniis i. ii.
Spec. = De Specialibus Legibus.
Virt. = De Virtutibus.

Note.—Explanatory words in italics in the following list give Philo's etymology of the name.

Aaron generally = uttered thought, also "mountainous" and therefore "lofty." *L.A.* iii. 45, 103, 125, *Det.* 132, *Ebr.* 128, *Mig.* 78, 169, *Mut.* 208.

Abel = the mind which "refers all to God." *Sac.* and *Det. passim*, *Mig.* 74.

Abihu, *v.* Nadab.

Abram or Abraham. Besides a great number of references to him as "the wise," "the faithful," etc., illustrated by many texts and incidents, note particularly the interpretation of Abram = *the uplifted father*, Abraham = *the elect father of sound*, and for Philo's explanation of these phrases, *L.A.* iii. 83, *Cher.* 4, *Gig.* 62, *Mut.* 66, 71, *Abr.* 82. Abraham also stands for "virtue gained by instruction." *Cong.* 35, *Mut.* 12, *Som.* i. 160, 168, *Abr.* 52, *Mos.* i. 76.

Adam = the (earthly) mind contrasted with Eve = sense-perception. *Op.* 165, *L.A.* i. 25, ii. 13, iii. 50, 246, *Cher.* 10, 57, *Plant.* 46, *Her.* 52, *Som.* ii. 70. See also Eve.

Amalek = *people licking up.* *L.A.* iii. 186, *Mig.* 143.
Amorites = vain talkers. *L.A.* iii. 232, *Her.* 302, 308.
Asher = material wealth. *Mig.* 95, *Som.* ii. 35.
Baal-Peor = *solid hide.* *Conf.* 55. *Mut.* 107.
Balaam = *foolish people.* *Cher.* 32, *Det.* 71, *Deus* 181, *Conf.* 64, 159, *Mig.* 115.
Benjamin = *son of days.* *Mut.* 92, *Som.* ii. 36.
Bezalel = *in God's shadow.* *L.A.* iii. 95, *Plant.* 26, *Som.* i. 206.
Bilhah = *swallowing.* *L.A.* ii. 96, iii. 146, *Cong.* 30.
Cain = *possession*, and thus the self-asserting principle. *Cher.* from 40 to end, *Sac.* and *Det. passim*, *Post.* 33, *Conf.* 122.
Canaan = *tossing* land of. *Sac.* 90, *Cong.* 83. The son of Ham. *L.A.* ii. 62, *Sob.* 44.
Cherubim. *Cher.* 1-40 *passim*, *Fug.* 100.
Dan = *judgement.* *L.A.* ii. 94, *Agr.* 95, *Som.* ii. 35.
Dinah = *judgement.* *Mig.* 223, *Mut.* 194.
Dothan = *thorough quitting.* *Det.* 28, *Fug.* 128.
Eden = *delight.* *L.A.* i. 64, *Cher.* 12, *Post.* 32, *Plant.* 32.
Edom = earthly. *Deus* 144, *Mig.* 146.
Egypt and Egyptians = the body, *passim.* For "the king of Egypt" see Pharaoh.
Enoch = *thy gift.* *Post.* 35, *Conf.* 122, *Abr.* 17.
Enos = *man.* *Det.* 138, *Abr.* 8, *Praem.* 14.
Ephraim and Manasseh = memory (fruit-bearing) and recollection respectively. *L.A.* iii. 90, *Sob.* 28, *Mig.* 205, *Cong.* 40, *Mut.* 98.
Er = *leathern.* *L.A.* iii. 69, *Post.* 180.
Esau, a type of folly in general, nearly always in contrast to Jacob. *L.A.* iii. 2, 88, *Sac.* 17, 120, 135, *Det.* 45, *Ebr.* 9, *Sob.* 26, *Mig.* 153, *Her.* 252, *Cong.* 61, 175, *Fug.* 39.
Euphrates = (*fruitfulness*), justice. *L.A.* i. 72, *Som.* ii. 255.
Eve (often called "the woman") = sense-perception. *Op.* 165, *L.A.* ii. 38, 70, iii. 50, 200, *Cher.* 57. = life. *Agr.* 95, *Her.* 52. (Other passages where "mind" is regarded as male, "sense" as female, without specified reference to Adam and Eve.)
Hagar = the lower education or learning of the schools (see General Introduction, pp. xvi, xvii). *L.A.* iii. 244. *Cher.* 3, *Sac.* 43, *Post.* 130, *Cong.* 12 and *passim*, *Fug.* 202, *Mut.* 255.
Hannah = *her* (*i.e.* Wisdom's) *grace.* *Deus* 5, *Ebr.* 145, *Mut.* 143, *Som.* i. 254.

Haran = *hole*, and thus the place of outward sense. *Mig.* 188, *Fug.* 45, *Som.* i. 41, *Abr.* 72.

Hebron = companion, and so the body. *Det.* 15, *Post.* 61.

Isaac = laughter, joy, happiness. *L.A.* i. 82, *Cher.* 7, 106, *Det.* 46, 124, *Plant.* 168, *Mut.* 131, 157, *Abr.* 201, *Praem.* 31. As the self-taught = virtue given by nature, or taught by God or Virtue's self, very frequent, see particularly *Cong.* 36, *Abr.* 52.

Ishmael = the sophist. *Cher.* 8, *Sob.* 8. = *hearing* (as lower than seeing). *Fug.* 208, *Mut.* 201.

Israel = *seeing God*, whether of the man or the nation, very frequent. Often "He who sees" without the name.

Issachar = *reward*, and thus worker. *L.A.* i. 80, *Plant.* 134, *Ebr.* 94, *Som.* ii. 34.

Jacob = particularly the *supplanter*; or the Practiser; very common. Often by either of these titles without the name.

Jethro = the uneven or worldling. *Sac.* 50 (see Note), *Ebr.* 36, *Mut.* 103.

Joseph = political, generally indicating a plane of life lower than the philosophical and sometimes even materialistic. *L.A.* iii. 179, 237, *Cher.* 128, *Det.* 5, *Deus* 119, *Conf.* 71, *Mig.* 203, *Her.* 256, *Mut.* 89, 215, *Som.* i. 78, 219, ii. 1-109 *passim*, *Jos. passim*.

Judah = he who *confesses* (and *praises*) God. *L.A.* i. 80, ii. 95, iii. 26, 146, *Plant.* 134, *Cong.* 125, *Mut.* 136, *Som.* ii. 34.

Laban = white, the lover of transient brightness. *L.A.* iii. 16, *Cher.* 67, *Det.* 4, *Agr.* 42, *Ebr.* 47, *Mig.* 28, 213, *Her.* 43, *Fug.* 9, 44, *Som.* i. 225.

Leah = toiling virtue. *L.A.* iii. 180, *Cher.* 41 (see Note), *Post.* 135, *Sob.* 12, *Mig.* 145, *Cong.* 25, *Mut.* 254.

Levi and Levites. *L.A.* ii. 51, *Sac.* 119-139 *passim*, *Det.* 132, *Ebr.* 65, *Plant.* 62, *Her.* 124, *Fug.* 88, *Som.* ii. 34, 273.

Lot = *turning away*; (his daughters = Counsel and Assent). *Post.* 175, *Ebr.* 164, *Mig.* 13, 148, 175.

Manasseh, see Ephraim.

Midian = (*from*) *judgement*. *L.A.* iii. 12, *Conf.* 55, *Mut.* 106.

Miriam = sense. *L.A.* ii. 66, iii. 103, *Agr.* 80.

Moses = *passim*. (Cohn's index gives nearly 300 references.)

Nadab and Abihu (whose destruction for presumption Philo strangely construes as an exaltation). *L.A.* ii. 57, *Mig.* 168, *Her.* 309, *Fug.* 59, *Som.* ii. 67.

Noah = *rest*. The story of his life is the basis of the treatises *Deus* from 70, *Agr.*, *Plant.*, *Ebr.*, *Sob.* Besides these, *L.A.* ii. 60, iii. 77, *Det.* 105, *Gig.* 1, *Cong.* 90, *Her.* 260, *Abr.* 27.
Nod = *tossing*. *Cher.* 12, *Post.* 32.
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Passover. *L.A.* iii. 154, *Sac.* 63, *Mig.* 25, *Her.* 192, *Cong.* 106.
Pharaoh = the *disperser* (of the good), or as king of Egypt = the earthly mind as king of the body. *L.A.* iii. 12, 212, 236, *Sac.* 48, *Ebr.* 111, 208, *Conf.* 88, *Her.* 60, *Som.* ii. 183, 211, 279, *Abr.* 103.
Phinehas. *L.A.* iii. 242, *Post.* 182, *Conf.* 57, *Mut.* 108, *Mos.* i. 301.
Rachel = superficiality. *L.A.* ii. 46, *Post.* 135, *Ebr.* 54, *Sob.* 12, *Cong.* 25.
Rebecca = patience. *L.A.* iii. 88, *Cher.* 41, *Sac.* 4, *Det.* 30, 45, *Post.* 132, *Plant.* 169, *Mig.* 208, *Cong.* 37, *Fug.* 23, 194, *Som.* i. 46.
Reuben = excellence of nature. *Sac.* 119, *Mut.* 98, *Som.* ii. 33.
Samuel = appointed for God. *Deus* 5, *Ebr.* 144, *Mig.* 196, *Som.* i. 254.
Sarah = sovereignty, Sarai = my sovereignty; the former is interpreted as generic sovereign wisdom or virtue, the latter as the same personal or specific. *L.A.* ii. 82, iii. 217, 244, *Cher.* 7, 41, *Det.* 59, *Post.* 28. See *Ebr.* 59, *Mig.* 126, *Her.* 258, *Cong.* 24, *Fug.* 128, *Mut.* 77, 255, *Abr.* 99, 206.
Seth = *watering*. *Post.* 10, 124, 170.
Shechem = *shoulder*, and so toil. *L.A.* iii. 25, *Det.* 9, *Mig.* 221, *Mut.* 193.
Shem = generic good. *Sob.* 51, *Mut.* 189.
Simeon = *hearing*. *Ebr.* 94, *Mig.* 224, *Mut.* 99.
Sodom = blindness and barrenness. *Ebr.* 222, *Conf.* 27, *Fug.* 144, *Som.* ii. 192.
Syria = *lofty*. *L.A.* iii. 18, *Cong.* 41, *Fug.* 44.
Zipporah = *bird*. *Cher.* 41, *Mut.* 120.

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Psalms

Ps. xxiii. (xxii.) 1. *Agr.* 50, *Mut.* 115.
xxxvii. (xxxvi.) 4. *Plant.* 39, *Som.* ii. 242.

Proverbs

Prov. viii. 22. *Ebr.* 31, *Virt.* 62.

Hosea

Hos. xiv. 9, 10. *Plant.* 138, *Mut.* 139.

ON THE ACCOUNT OF THE WORLD'S CREATION GIVEN BY MOSES

(DE OPIFICIO MUNDI)

ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

A Book of Laws, says Philo, is fitly prefaced by a Cosmogony. The theme dealt with by a Cosmogony is, indeed, too lofty for adequate treatment. In Moses' treatment of it, two salient points at once meet the eye. The world's origin is ascribed to a Maker, who is Himself *unoriginate,* and who *cares* for what He has made.

By "six days" Moses does not indicate a space of time in which the world was made, but the principles of *order* and *productivity* which governed its making.

Before the emergence of the material world there existed, in the Divine Word or Reason, the incorporeal world, as the design of a city exists in the brain of the designer.

The efficient cause of the universe (we must remember) is Goodness; and Goodness, to be attained by it as its capacity permits, is its final cause.

The incorporeal world may be described as "the Word of God engaged in the act of creating." And the Word is the Image of God. In that, man (the part), and therefore the universe (the whole) was created.

"In the beginning" means for Philo the precedence of the incorporeal heaven and invisible earth. The pre-eminence of Life-breath and Light are shown,

he says, by the one being called "the Spirit of *God*," and the other pronounced "good" or "beautiful." He sees darkness severed from light by the barrier of twilight; and the birth of Time on "Day One." Philo strangely infers that a whole day was devoted to the creation of the visible heaven from the mention of a "second day" *after* that creation. Land and sea are then formed by the briny water being withdrawn from the sponge-like earth and the fresh water left in it; and the land is bidden to bring forth trees and plants. It is bidden to do so *before* sun and moon are made, that men may not attribute its fruitfulness to these.

Coming now to the work of the fourth day, Philo brings out the significance of the number 4, and points to the boons conferred on body and mind by Light, which has given rise to philosophy by drawing man's vision upward to the heavenly bodies. He sees the purposes of these in their giving light, foreshowing coming events, marking the seasons, and measuring time.

The fifth day is fitly given to the creation of creatures endowed with five senses.

In connexion with the creation of man, Philo points out (*a*) the beauty of the *sequence*, ascending (in living things) from lowest to highest; (*b*) the reference, not to body, but to *mind*, in the words "after our image"; (*c*) the implication of *exactness* in the addition "after our likeness"; (*d*) the co-operation of other agents implied in "let *us* make," such co-operation accounting (so Philo suggests) for the possibility of sin; (*e*) four reasons for man coming last, viz.—

(1) that he might find all ready for him;

(2) that he might use God's gifts as such ;
(3) that Man, a miniature Heaven, might correspond to the Heaven whose creation came first ;
(4) that his sudden appearance might over-awe the beasts.

His place in the series is no sign of inferiority.

Turning to the Seventh Day, Philo notes its dignity, and enlarges on the properties of the number 7, (*a*) in things incorporeal (89-100) ; (*b*) in the material creation : (α) the heavenly bodies (101 f.) ; (β) the stages of man's growth (103-105) ; (γ) as 3 + 4 (106) ; (δ) in the progressions (107-110) ; (ε) in all visible existence (111-116) ; (ζ) in man, and all that he sees (117-121) and experiences (121-125) ; (η) in grammar and music (126 f.).

After speaking of the honour paid by Moses to the number 7, Philo, treating Gen. ii. 4 f. as a concluding summary, claims it as a proof that Gen. i. records a creation of incorporeal ideas. After a disquisition on the subject of fresh water, to which he is led by Gen. ii. 6, he goes on to deal with the earth-born man (Gen. ii. 7), whom he distinguishes from the man made after God's image. The being of the former is composite, earthly substance and Divine Breath. Proofs and an illustration are given of his surpassing excellence. The title of " the only world-citizen " is claimed for him, and its significance brought out. His physical excellence can be guessed from the faint traces of it found in his posterity. It is to call out his intelligence that he is required to name the animals. Woman is the occasion of his deterioration.

The Garden, the Serpent, the Fall and its con-

sequences are dealt with in §§ 153-169. The Garden, we are told, represents the dominant power of the soul, and the Serpent represents Pleasure, and is eminently fitted to do so. His use of a human voice is considered. The praise of the "snake-fighter" in Lev. xi. 22 is referred to. Stress is laid on the fact that Pleasure assails the man through the woman. The effects of the Fall on the woman and on the man are traced.

The treatise ends with a short summary of the lessons of the Cosmogony. These are:

(1) the eternal existence of God (as against atheism);
(2) the unity of God (as against polytheism);
(3) the non-eternity of the world;
(4) the unity of the world;
(5) the Providence of God.

ΦΙΛΩΝΟΣ
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΩΥΣΕΑ ΚΟΣΜΟΠΟΙΙΑΣ

[I. 1] 1 I. Τῶν ἄλλων νομοθετῶν, οἱ μὲν ἀκαλλώπιστα
καὶ γυμνὰ τὰ νομισθέντα παρ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι δίκαια
διετάξαντο, οἱ δὲ πολὺν ὄγκον τοῖς νοήμασι προσ-
περιβαλόντες, ἐξετύφωσαν τὰ πλήθη, μυθικοῖς
2 πλάσμασι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐπικρύψαντες. Μωυσῆς
δ', ἑκάτερον ὑπερβάς, τὸ μὲν ὡς ἄσκεπτον καὶ
ἀταλαίπωρον καὶ ἀφιλόσοφον, τὸ δ' ὡς κατ-
εψευσμένον καὶ μεστὸν γοητείας, παγκάλην καὶ
σεμνοτάτην ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο τῶν νόμων, μήτ'
εὐθὺς ἃ χρὴ πράττειν ἢ τοὐναντίον ὑπειπὼν μήτ',
ἐπειδὴ προτυπῶσαι τὰς διανοίας τῶν χρησομένων
τοῖς νόμοις ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, μύθους πλασάμενος ἢ
3 συναινέσας τοῖς ὑφ' ἑτέρων συντεθεῖσιν. ἡ δ'
ἀρχή, καθάπερ ἔφην, ἐστὶ θαυμασιωτάτη, κοσμο-
ποιίαν περιέχουσα, ὡς καὶ τοῦ κόσμου τῷ νόμῳ
καὶ τοῦ νόμου τῷ κόσμῳ συνᾴδοντος, καὶ τοῦ
νομίμου ἀνδρὸς εὐθὺς ὄντος κοσμοπολίτου, πρὸς
τὸ βούλημα τῆς φύσεως τὰς πράξεις ἀπευθύνοντος,
καθ' ἣν καὶ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος διοικεῖται.

[a] "World" means, of course, the "Universe" or "Kosmos." See App. p. 475.

ON THE ACCOUNT OF THE WORLD'S CREATION GIVEN BY MOSES

I. While among other lawgivers some have nakedly and without embellishment drawn up a code of the things held to be right among their people, and others, dressing up their ideas in much irrelevant and cumbersome matter, have befogged the masses and hidden the truth under their fictions, Moses, disdaining either course, the one as devoid of the philosopher's painstaking effort to explore his subject thoroughly, the other as full of falsehood and imposture, introduced his laws with an admirable and most impressive exordium. He refrained, on the one hand, from stating abruptly what should be practised or avoided, and on the other hand, in face of the necessity of preparing the minds of those who were to live under the laws for their reception, he refrained from inventing myths himself or acquiescing in those composed by others. His exordium, as I have said, is one that excites our admiration in the highest degree. It consists of an account of the creation of the world, implying that the world is in harmony with the Law, and the Law with the world, and that the man who observes the law is constituted thereby a loyal citizen of the world,[a] regulating his doings by the purpose and will of Nature, in accordance with which the entire world itself also is administered.

4 τὸ μὲν οὖν κάλλος τῶν νοημάτων τῆς κοσμοποιίας
οὐδείς, οὔτε ποιητὴς οὔτε λογογράφος, ἀξίως ἂν
[2] ὑμνῆσαι δύναιτο· καὶ γὰρ | λόγον καὶ ἀκοὴν ὑπερ-
βάλλει, μείζω καὶ σεμνότερα ὄντα ἢ ὡς θνητοῦ
5 τινος ὀργάνοις ἐναρμοσθῆναι. οὐ μὴν διὰ τοῦθ᾿
ἡσυχαστέον, ἀλλ᾿ ἕνεκα τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς καὶ ὑπὲρ
δύναμιν ἐπιτολμητέον λέγειν, οἴκοθεν μὲν οὐδέν,
ὀλίγα δ᾿ ἀντὶ πολλῶν, ἐφ᾿ ἃ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην
διάνοιαν φθάνειν εἰκὸς ἔρωτι καὶ πόθῳ σοφίας
6 κατεσχημένην. ὡς γὰρ τῶν κολοσσιαίων μεγεθῶν
τὰς ἐμφάσεις καὶ ἡ βραχυτάτη σφραγὶς τυπωθεῖσα
δέχεται, οὕτως τάχα που καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀναγραφείσης
ἐν τοῖς νόμοις κοσμοποιίας ὑπερβάλλοντα κάλλη,
καὶ ταῖς μαρμαρυγαῖς τὰς τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων
ψυχὰς ἐπισκιάζοντα, βραχυτέροις παραδηλωθή-
σεται χαρακτῆρσιν, ἐπειδὰν ἐκεῖνο μηνυθῇ πρό-
τερον, ὅπερ οὐκ ἄξιον ἀποσιωπῆσαι.
7 II. Τινὲς γάρ, τὸν κόσμον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν κοσμο-
ποιὸν θαυμάσαντες, τὸν μὲν ἀγένητόν τε καὶ ἀίδιον
ἀπεφήναντο, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ πολλὴν ἀπραξίαν ἀνάγνως
κατεψεύσαντο, δέον ἔμπαλιν, τοῦ μὲν τὰς δυνάμεις
ὡς ποιητοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καταπλαγῆναι, τὸν δὲ μὴ
8 πλέον ἀποσεμνῦναι τοῦ μετρίου. Μωυσῆς δέ, καὶ
φιλοσοφίας ἐπ᾿ αὐτὴν φθάσας ἀκρότητα, καὶ
χρησμοῖς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ συνεκτικώτατα τῶν τῆς
φύσεως ἀναδιδαχθείς, ἔγνω δὴ ὅτι ἀναγκαιότατόν
ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς οὖσι τὸ μὲν εἶναι δραστήριον αἴτιον,

Now it is true that no writer in verse or prose could possibly do justice to the beauty of the ideas embodied in this account of the creation of the kosmos. For they transcend our capacity of speech and of hearing, being too great and august to be adjusted to the tongue or ear of any mortal. Nevertheless they must not on this account be passed over in silence. Nay, for the sake of the God-beloved author we must be venturesome even beyond our power. We shall fetch nothing from our own store, but, with a great array of points before us, we shall mention only a few, such as we may believe to be within reach of the human mind when possessed by love and longing for wisdom. The minutest seal takes in under the graver's hand the contours of colossal figures. So perchance shall the beauties of the world's creation recorded in the Laws, transcendent as they are and dazzling as they do by their bright gleams the souls of readers, be indicated by delineations minute and slight. But first we must draw attention to a matter which ought not to be passed over in silence.

II. There are some people who, having the world in admiration rather than the Maker of the world, pronounce it to be without beginning and everlasting, while with impious falsehood they postulate in God a vast inactivity ; whereas we ought on the contrary to be astonied at His powers as Maker and Father, and not to assign to the world a disproportionate majesty. Moses, both because he had attained the very summit of philosophy, and because he had been divinely instructed in the greater and most essential part of Nature's lore, could not fail to recognize that the universal must consist of two parts, one part

τὸ δὲ παθητόν· καὶ ὅτι τὸ μὲν δραστήριον ὁ τῶν ὅλων νοῦς ἐστιν εἰλικρινέστατος καὶ ἀκραιφνέστατος, κρείττων ἢ ἀρετή, καὶ κρείττων ἢ ἐπιστήμη, καὶ κρείττων ἢ αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ καλόν·

9 τὸ δὲ παθητόν, ἄψυχον καὶ ἀκίνητον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ, κινηθὲν δὲ καὶ σχηματισθὲν καὶ ψυχωθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ, μετέβαλεν εἰς τὸ τελειότατον ἔργον, τόνδε τὸν κόσμον· ὃν οἱ φάσκοντες ὡς ἔστιν ἀγένητος λελήθασι τὸ ὠφελιμώτατον καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον τῶν εἰς εὐσέβειαν ὑποτεμνόμενοι, τὴν πρόνοιαν.

10 τοῦ μὲν γὰρ γεγονότος ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν αἱρεῖ λόγος· καὶ γὰρ πατὴρ ἐκγόνων καὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν δημιουργηθέντων στοχάζεται τῆς διαμονῆς, καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐπιζήμια καὶ βλαβερὰ μηχανῇ πάσῃ διωθεῖται, τὰ δὲ ὅσα ὠφέλιμα καὶ λυσιτελῆ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἐκπορίζειν ἐπιποθεῖ· πρὸς δὲ τὸ μὴ γεγονὸς οἰκείωσις οὐδεμία τῷ μὴ

11 πεποιηκότι. ἀπεριμάχητον δὲ δόγμα καὶ ἀνωφελές, ἀναρχίαν ὡς ἐν πόλει κατασκευάζον τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ, τὸν ἔφορον ἢ βραβευτὴν ἢ δικαστὴν οὐκ ἔχοντι, ὑφ᾿ οὗ πάντ᾿ οἰκονομεῖσθαι καὶ πρυτα-

12 νεύεσθαι θέμις. ἀλλ᾿ ὅ γε μέγας Μωυσῆς

[3] ἀλλοτριώτατον τοῦ | ὁρατοῦ νομίσας εἶναι τὸ ἀγένητον—πᾶν γὰρ τὸ αἰσθητόν, ἐν γενέσει καὶ μεταβολαῖς, οὐδέποτε κατὰ ταὐτὰ ὄν—τῷ μὲν ἀοράτῳ καὶ νοητῷ προσένειμεν ὡς ἀδελφὸν καὶ συγγενὲς

active Cause and the other passive object ; and that the active Cause is the perfectly pure and unsullied Mind of the universe, transcending virtue, transcending knowledge, transcending the good itself and the beautiful itself ; while the passive part is in itself incapable of life and motion, but, when set in motion and shaped and quickened by Mind, changes into the most perfect masterpiece, namely this world. Those who assert that this world is unoriginate unconsciously eliminate that which of all incentives to piety is the most beneficial and the most indispensable, namely providence. For it stands to reason that what has been brought into existence should be cared for by its Father and Maker. For, as we know, it is a father's aim in regard of his offspring and an artificer's in regard of his handiwork to preserve them, and by every means to fend off from them aught that may entail loss or harm. He keenly desires to provide for them in every way all that is beneficial and to their advantage : but between that which has never been brought into being and one who is not its Maker no such tie is formed. It is a worthless and baleful doctrine, setting up anarchy in the well-ordered realm of the world, leaving it without protector, arbitrator, or judge, without anyone whose office it is to administer and direct all its affairs. Not so Moses. That great master, holding the unoriginate to be of a different order from that which is visible, since everything that is an object of sensible perception is subject to becoming and to constant change, never abiding in the same state, assigned to that which is invisible and an object of intellectual apprehension the infinite and undefinable as united with it by closest tie ; but on that which

ἀϊδιότητα, τῷ δ' αἰσθητῷ γένεσιν οἰκεῖον ὄνομα ἐπεφήμισεν. ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁρατός τε καὶ αἰσθητὸς ὅδε ὁ κόσμος, ἀναγκαίως ἂν εἴη καὶ γενητός· ὅθεν οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ καὶ τὴν γένεσιν ἀνέγραψεν αὐτοῦ, μάλα σεμνῶς θεολογήσας.

13 III. [a]Ἓξ δὲ ἡμέραις δημιουργηθῆναί φησι τὸν κόσμον, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ προσεδεῖτο χρόνων μήκους ὁ ποιῶν—ἅμα γὰρ πάντα δρᾶν εἰκὸς θεόν, οὐ προστάττοντα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ διανοούμενον—, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοῖς γινομένοις ἔδει τάξεως. τάξει δὲ ἀριθμὸς οἰκεῖον, ἀριθμῶν δέ, φύσεως νόμοις, γεννητικώτατος ὁ ἕξ· τῶν τε γὰρ ἀπὸ μονάδος πρῶτος τέλειός ἐστιν, ἰσούμενος τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσι καὶ συμπληρούμενος ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἡμίσους μὲν τριάδος, τρίτου δὲ δυάδος, ἕκτου δὲ μονάδος, καὶ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἄρρην τε καὶ θῆλυς εἶναι πέφυκε, κἀκ τῆς ἑκατέρου δυνάμεως ἥρμοσται· ἄρρεν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς οὖσι τὸ περιττόν, τὸ δ' ἄρτιον θῆλυ· περιττῶν μὲν οὖν ἀριθμῶν ἀρχὴ τριάς, δυὰς δ' ἀρτίων, ἡ δ'
14 ἀμφοῖν δύναμις ἑξάς. ἔδει γὰρ τὸν κόσμον, τελειότατον μὲν ὄντα τῶν γεγονότων, κατ' ἀριθμὸν τέλειον παγῆναι τὸν ἕξ, ἐν ἑαυτῷ δ' ἔχειν μέλλοντα τὰς ἐκ συνδυασμοῦ γενέσεις, πρὸς μικτὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸν πρῶτον ἀρτιοπέριττον τυπωθῆναι,

[a] *Cf.* Plato, *Republic* viii. 546 B, St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, bk. xi. ch. 30.

is an object of the senses he bestowed "genesis," "becoming," as its appropriate name. Seeing then that this world is both visible and perceived by the senses, it follows that it must also have had an origin. Whence it was entirely to the point that he put on record that origin, setting forth in its true grandeur the work of God.

III. He says that in six days the world was created, not that its Maker required a length of time for His work, for we must think of God as doing all things simultaneously, remembering that "all" includes with the commands which He issues the thought behind them. Six days are mentioned because for the things coming into existence there was need of order. Order involves number, and among numbers by the laws of nature the most suitable to productivity is 6, for if we start with 1 it is the first perfect number, being equal to the product of its factors (*i.e.* $1 \times 2 \times 3$), as well as made up of the sum of them (*i.e.* $1 + 2 + 3$), its half being 3, its third part 2, its sixth part 1.[a] We may say that it is in its nature both male and female, and is a result of the distinctive power of either. For among things that are it is the odd that is male, and the even female. Now of odd numbers 3 is the starting-point, and of even numbers 2, and the product of these two is 6. For it was requisite that the world, being most perfect of all things that have come into existence, should be constituted in accordance with a perfect number, namely six; and, inasmuch as it was to have in itself beings that sprang from a coupling together, should receive the impress of a mixed number, namely the first in which odd and even

περιέξοντα καὶ τὴν τοῦ σπείροντος ἄρρενος, καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὑποδεχομένου τὰς γονὰς θήλεος, ἰδέαν.

15 Ἑκάστῃ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπένειμεν ἔνια τῶν τοῦ παντὸς τμημάτων, τὴν πρώτην ὑπεξελόμενος, ἣν αὐτὸς οὐδὲ πρώτην, ἵνα μὴ ταῖς ἄλλαις συγκαταριθμῆται, καλεῖ, μίαν δ' ὀνομάσας ὀνόματι εὐθυβόλῳ προσαγορεύει, τὴν μονάδος φύσιν καὶ πρόσρησιν ἐνιδών τε καὶ ἐπιφημίσας αὐτῇ.

IV. λεκτέον δὲ ὅσα οἷόν τέ ἐστι τῶν ἐμπεριεχομένων, ἐπειδὴ πάντα ἀμήχανον· περιέχει γὰρ τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον ἐξαίρετον, ὡς ὁ περὶ αὐτῆς λόγος
16 [4] |μηνύει. προλαβὼν γὰρ ὁ θεός, ἅτε θεός, ὅτι μίμημα καλὸν οὐκ ἄν ποτε γένοιτο δίχα καλοῦ παραδείγματος, οὐδέ τι τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀνυπαίτιον, ὃ μὴ πρὸς ἀρχέτυπον καὶ νοητὴν ἰδέαν ἀπεικονίσθη, βουληθεὶς τὸν ὁρατὸν κόσμον τουτονὶ δημιουργῆσαι, προεξετύπου τὸν νοητόν, ἵνα, χρώμενος ἀσωμάτῳ καὶ θεοειδεστάτῳ παραδείγματι, τὸν σωματικὸν ἀπεργάσηται, πρεσβυτέρου νεώτερον ἀπεικόνισμα, τοσαῦτα περιέξοντα αἰσθητὰ
17 γένη ὅσαπερ ἐν ἐκείνῳ νοητά. τὸν δ' ἐκ τῶν ἰδεῶν συνεστῶτα κόσμον ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ λέγειν ἢ ὑπονοεῖν οὐ θεμιτόν· ᾗ δὲ συνέστηκεν εἰσόμεθα, παρακολουθήσαντες εἰκόνι τινὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν. ἐπειδὰν πόλις κτίζηται, κατὰ πολλὴν φιλοτιμίαν βασιλέως ἤ τινος ἡγεμόνος, αὐτοκρατοῦς

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[a] Gen. i. 5: "And there was evening and there was morning, one day."

were combined, one that should contain the essential principle both of the male that sows and of the female that receives the seed.

Now to each of the days He assigned some of the portions of the whole, not including, however, the first day, which He does not even call "first," lest it should be reckoned with the others, but naming it "one"[a] He designates it by a name which precisely hits the mark, for He discerned in it and expressed by the title which He gives it the nature and appellation of the unit, or the "one."

IV. We must recount as many as we can of the elements embraced in it. To recount them all would be impossible. Its pre-eminent element is the intelligible world, as is shown in the treatise dealing with the "One." For God, being God, assumed that a beautiful copy would never be produced apart from a beautiful pattern, and that no object of perception would be faultless which was not made in the likeness of an original discerned only by the intellect. So when He willed to create this visible world He first fully formed the intelligible world, in order that He might have the use of a pattern wholly God-like and incorporeal in producing the material world, as a later creation, the very image of an earlier, to embrace in itself objects of perception of as many kinds as the other contained objects of intelligence.

To speak of or conceive that world which consists of ideas as being in some place is illegitimate; how it consists (of them) we shall know if we carefully attend to some image supplied by the things of our world. When a city is being founded to satisfy the soaring ambition of some king or governor, who lays claim to despotic power and

ἐξουσίας μεταποιουμένου καὶ ἅμα τὸ φρόνημα λαμπροῦ, τὴν εὐτυχίαν συνεπικοσμοῦντος, παρελθὼν ἔστιν ὅτε τις τῶν ἀπὸ παιδείας ἀνὴρ ἀρχιτεκτονικὸς καὶ τὴν εὐκρασίαν καὶ εὐκαιρίαν τοῦ τόπου θεασάμενος, διαγράφει πρῶτον ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰ τῆς μελλούσης ἀποτελεῖσθαι πόλεως μέρη σχεδὸν ἅπαντα, ἱερά, γυμνάσια, πρυτανεῖα, ἀγοράς, λιμένας, νεωσοίκους, στενωπούς, τειχῶν κατασκευάς, ἱδρύσεις οἰκιῶν καὶ δημοσίων ἄλλων οἰκο-
18 δομημάτων· εἶθ', ὥσπερ ἐν κηρῷ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῇ τοὺς ἑκάστων δεξάμενος τύπους, ἀγαλματοφορεῖ νοητὴν πόλιν, ἧς ἀνακινήσας τὰ εἴδωλα μνήμῃ τῇ συμφύτῳ καὶ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐνσφραγισάμενος, οἷα δημιουργὸς ἀγαθός, ἀποβλέπων εἰς τὸ παράδειγμα, τὴν ἐκ λίθων καὶ ξύλων ἄρχεται κατασκευάζειν, ἑκάστῃ τῶν ἀσωμάτων ἰδεῶν τὰς σωματικὰς ἐξομοιῶν οὐσίας.
19 τὰ παραπλήσια δὴ καὶ περὶ θεοῦ δοξαστέον, ὡς ἄρα τὴν μεγαλόπολιν κτίζειν διανοηθεὶς ἐνενόησε πρότερον τοὺς τύπους αὐτῆς, ἐξ ὧν, κόσμον νοητὸν συστησάμενος, ἀπετέλει καὶ τὸν αἰσθητόν, παραδείγματι χρώμενος ἐκείνῳ.
20 V. καθάπερ οὖν ἡ ἐν τῷ ἀρχιτεκτονικῷ προδιατυπωθεῖσα πόλις χώραν ἐκτὸς οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἐνεσφράγιστο τῇ τοῦ τεχνίτου ψυχῇ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οὐδ' ὁ ἐκ τῶν ἰδεῶν κόσμος ἄλλον ἂν ἔχοι τόπον ἢ τὸν θεῖον λόγον τὸν ταῦτα διακοσμήσαντα· ἐπεὶ τίς ἂν εἴη τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ τόπος ἕτερος,

being magnificent in his ideas would fain add a fresh lustre to his good fortune, there comes forward now and again some trained architect who, observing the favourable climate and convenient position of the site, first sketches in his own mind wellnigh all the parts of the city that is to be wrought out, temples, gymnasia, town-halls, market-places, harbours, docks, streets, walls to be built, dwelling-houses as well as public buildings to be set up. Thus after having received in his own soul, as it were in wax, the figures of these objects severally, he carries about the image of a city which is the creation of his mind. Then by his innate power of memory, he recalls the images of the various parts of this city, and imprints their types yet more distinctly in it: and like a good craftsman he begins to build the city of stones and timber, keeping his eye upon his pattern and making the visible and tangible objects correspond in each case to the incorporeal ideas.

Just such must be our thoughts about God. We must suppose that, when He was minded to found the one great city, He conceived beforehand the models of its parts, and that out of these He constituted and brought to completion a world discernible only by the mind, and then, with that for a pattern, the world which our senses can perceive.

V. As, then, the city which was fashioned beforehand within the mind of the architect held no place in the outer world, but had been engraved in the soul of the artificer as by a seal; even so the universe that consisted of ideas would have no other location than the Divine Reason, which was the Author of this ordered frame. For what other place could there be for His powers sufficient to receive and

ὃς γένοιτ᾿ ἂν ἱκανός, οὐ λέγω πάσας ἀλλὰ μίαν, ἄκρατον ἡντινοῦν δέξασθαί τε καὶ χωρῆσαι;

21 δύναμις δὲ καὶ ἡ κοσμοποιητική, πηγὴν
[5] ἔχουσα | τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθόν. εἰ γάρ τις ἐθελήσειε τὴν αἰτίαν ἧς ἕνεκα τόδε τὸ πᾶν ἐδημιουργεῖτο διερευνᾶσθαι, δοκεῖ μοι μὴ διαμαρτεῖν σκοποῦ φάμενος, ὅπερ καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων εἶπέ τις, ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητήν· οὗ χάριν τῆς ἀρίστης αὐτοῦ φύσεως οὐκ ἐφθόνησεν οὐσίᾳ, μηδὲν ἐξ αὑτῆς ἐχούσῃ καλόν, δυναμένῃ δὲ πάντα
22 γίνεσθαι. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐξ αὑτῆς ἄτακτος, ἄποιος, ἄψυχος, <ἀνόμοιος>, ἑτεροιότητος, ἀναρμοστίας, ἀσυμφωνίας μεστή· τροπὴν δὲ καὶ μεταβολὴν ἐδέχετο τὴν εἰς τἀναντία καὶ τὰ βέλτιστα, τάξιν, ποιότητα, ἐμψυχίαν, ὁμοιότητα, ταυτότητα, τὸ εὐάρμοστον, τὸ σύμφωνον, πᾶν ὅσον τῆς κρείττονος ἰδέας.

23 VI. Οὐδενὶ δὲ παρακλήτῳ—τίς γὰρ ἦν ἕτερος; —μόνῳ δὲ αὑτῷ χρησάμενος, ὁ θεὸς ἔγνω δεῖν εὐεργετεῖν, ἀταμιεύτοις καὶ πλουσίαις χάρισι, τὴν ἄνευ δωρεᾶς θείας φύσιν οὐδενὸς ἀγαθοῦ δυναμένην ἐπιλαχεῖν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς. ἀλλ᾿ οὐ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος εὐεργετεῖ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ χαρίτων—ἀπερίγραφοι γὰρ αὗταί γε καὶ ἀτελεύτητοι—, πρὸς δὲ τὰς τῶν εὐεργετουμένων δυνάμεις· οὐ γὰρ ὡς πέφυκεν ὁ θεὸς εὖ ποιεῖν, οὕτως καὶ τὸ γινόμενον εὖ πάσχειν, ἐπεὶ τοῦ μὲν αἱ δυνάμεις ὑπερβάλλουσι, τὸ δ᾿, ἀσθενέστερον ὂν ἢ ὥστε δέξασθαι τὸ μέγεθος

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[a] Plato, *Timaeus* 29 E.

contain, I say not all but, any one of them whatever uncompounded and untempered? Now just such a power is that by which the universe was made, one that has as its source nothing less than true goodness. For should one conceive a wish to search for the cause, for the sake of which this whole was created, it seems to me that he would not be wrong in saying, what indeed one of the men of old did say, that the Father and Maker of all is good; and because of this He grudged not a share in his own excellent nature to an existence which has of itself nothing fair and lovely, while it is capable of becoming all things. For of itself it was without order, without quality, without soul, (without likeness); it was full of inconsistency, ill-adjustment, disharmony: but it was capable of turning and undergoing a complete change to the best, the very contrary of all these, to order, quality, life, correspondence, identity, likeness, perfect adjustment, to harmony, to all that is characteristic of the more excellent model.[a]

VI. Now God, with no counsellor to help Him (who was there beside Him?) determined that it was meet to confer rich and unrestricted benefits upon that nature which apart from Divine bounty could obtain of itself no good thing. But not in proportion to the greatest of His own bounties does He confer benefits—for these are without end or limit—but in proportion to the capacities of the recipients. For it is not the nature of creation to receive good treatment in like manner as it is the nature of God to bestow it, seeing that the powers of God are overwhelmingly vast, whereas creation, being too feeble to entertain their abundance, would

αὐτῶν, ἀπεῖπεν ἄν, εἰ μὴ διεμετρήσατο σταθ-
μησάμενος εὐαρμόστως ἑκάστῳ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον.
24 εἰ δέ τις ἐθελήσειε γυμνοτέροις χρή-
σασθαι τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἕτερον εἴποι τὸν
νοητὸν κόσμον εἶναι ἢ θεοῦ λόγον ἤδη κοσμο-
ποιοῦντος· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ νοητὴ πόλις ἕτερόν τί ἐστιν
ἢ ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος λογισμὸς ἤδη τὴν [νοητὴν]
25 πόλιν κτίζειν διανοουμένου. τὸ δὲ δόγμα τοῦτο
Μωυσέως ἐστίν, οὐκ ἐμόν· τὴν γοῦν ἀνθρώπου
γένεσιν ἀναγράφων ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα διαρρήδην
ὁμολογεῖ, ὡς ἄρα κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ διετυπώθη
(Gen. i. 27). εἰ δὲ τὸ μέρος εἰκὼν εἰκόνος, δῆλον
ὅτι καὶ τὸ ὅλον· εἰ δ' ὁ σύμπας αἰσθητὸς οὑτοσὶ
κόσμος, ὃ μεῖζον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐστίν, μίμημα
θείας εἰκόνος, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἡ ἀρχέτυπος σφραγίς,
ὅν φαμεν νοητὸν εἶναι κόσμον, αὐτὸς ἂν εἴη [τὸ
παράδειγμα, ἀρχέτυπος ἰδέα τῶν ἰδεῶν] ὁ θεοῦ
λόγος.

26 VII. Φησὶ δ' ὡς "ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν
οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν," τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαμβάνων,
[6] | οὐχ ὡς οἴονταί τινες, τὴν κατὰ χρόνον· χρόνος
γὰρ οὐκ ἦν πρὸ κόσμου, ἀλλ' ἢ σὺν αὐτῷ γέγονεν
ἢ μετ' αὐτόν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ διάστημα τῆς τοῦ κόσμου
κινήσεώς ἐστιν ὁ χρόνος, προτέρα δὲ τοῦ κινου-
μένου κίνησις οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον
αὐτὴν ἢ ὕστερον ἢ ἅμα συνίστασθαι, ἀναγκαῖον
ἄρα καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἢ ἰσήλικα κόσμου γεγονέναι
ἢ νεώτερον ἐκείνου· πρεσβύτερον δ' ἀποφαίνεσθαι
27 τολμᾶν ἀφιλόσοφον. εἰ δ' ἀρχὴ μὴ παραλαμβάνεται

[a] See App. p. 475.

have broken down under the effort to do so, had not God with appropriate adjustment dealt out to each his due portion. Should a man desire to use words in a more simple and direct way, he would say that the world discerned only by the intellect is nothing else than the Word of God when He was already engaged in the act of creation. For (to revert to our illustration) the city discernible by the intellect alone is nothing else than the reasoning faculty of the architect in the act of planning to found the city. It is Moses who lays down this, not I. Witness his express acknowledgement in the sequel, when setting on record the creation of man, that he was moulded after the image of God (Gen. i. 27). Now if the part is an image of an image, it is manifest that the whole is so too, and if the whole creation, this entire world perceived by our senses (seeing that it is greater than any human image) is a copy of the Divine image, it is manifest that the archetypal seal also, which we aver to be the world descried by the mind, would be the very Word of God.[a]

VII. Then he says that "in the beginning God made the heaven and the earth," taking "beginning" not, as some think, in a chronological sense, for time there was not before there was a world. Time began either simultaneously with the world or after it. For since time is a measured space[a] determined by the world's movement, and since movement could not be prior to the object moving, but must of necessity arise either after it or simultaneously with it, it follows of necessity that time also is either coeval with or later born than the world. To venture to affirm that it is elder born would be to do violence to philosophic sense. And since the word "beginning"

τανῦν ἡ κατὰ χρόνον, εἰκὸς ἂν εἴη μηνύεσθαι τὴν κατ' ἀριθμόν, ὡς τὸ "ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν" ἴσον εἶναι τῷ πρῶτον ἐποίησε τὸν οὐρανόν· καὶ γὰρ εὔλογον τῷ ὄντι πρῶτον αὐτὸν εἰς γένεσιν ἐλθεῖν, ἄριστόν τε ὄντα τῶν γεγονότων κἀκ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου τῆς οὐσίας παγέντα,[a] διότι θεῶν[b] ἐμφανῶν τε καὶ αἰσθητῶν ἔμελλεν οἶκος ἔσεσθαι ἱερώτατος.
28 καὶ γὰρ εἰ πάνθ' ἅμα ὁ ποιῶν ἐποίει, τάξιν οὐδὲν ἧττον εἶχε τὰ καλῶς γινόμενα· καλὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐν ἀταξίᾳ. τάξις δ' ἀκολουθία καὶ εἱρμός ἐστι προηγουμένων τινῶν καὶ ἑπομένων, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἀποτελέσμασιν, ἀλλά τοι ταῖς τῶν τεκταινομένων ἐπινοίαις· οὕτως γὰρ ἔμελλον ἠκριβῶσθαί τε καὶ ἀπλανεῖς εἶναι καὶ ἀσύγχυτοι.

29 Πρῶτον οὖν ὁ ποιῶν ἐποίησεν οὐρανὸν ἀσώματον, καὶ γῆν ἀόρατον, καὶ ἀέρος ἰδέαν, καὶ κενοῦ· ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐπεφήμισε σκότος, ἐπειδὴ μέλας ὁ ἀὴρ τῇ φύσει, τὴν δ' ἄβυσσον, πολύβυθον γὰρ τό γε κενὸν καὶ ἀχανές· εἶθ' ὕδατος ἀσώματον οὐσίαν, καὶ πνεύματος, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἑβδόμου φωτός, ὃ πάλιν ἀσώματον ἦν καὶ νοητὸν ἡλίου παράδειγμα, καὶ πάντων ὅσα φωσφόρα ἄστρα κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν
30 ἔμελλε συνίστασθαι. VIII. προνομίας δὲ τό τε πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ φῶς ἠξιοῦτο· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὠνόμασε θεοῦ, διότι ζωτικώτατον τὸ πνεῦμα, ζωῆς δὲ θεὸς

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[a] *Cf.* 114 τοῦ καθαρωτάτου τῆς οὐσίας οὐρανοῦ.
[b] Or "divine beings."

is not here taken as the chronological beginning, it would seem likely that the numerical order is indicated, so that "in the beginning He made" is equivalent to "He made the heaven first": for it is indeed reasonable that it should come into existence first, being both best of created things and made from the purest of all that is,[a] seeing that it was destined to be the most holy dwelling-place of manifest and visible gods.[b] For, even if the Maker made all things simultaneously, order was none the less an attribute of all that came into existence in fair beauty, for beauty is absent where there is disorder. Now order is a series of things going on before and following after, in due sequence, a sequence which, though not seen in the finished productions, yet exists in the designs of the contrivers; for only so could these things be fashioned with perfect accuracy, and work without leaving their path or clashing with each other.

First, then, the Maker made an incorporeal heaven, and an invisible earth, and the essential form of air and void. To the one he gave the name of "Darkness," since the air when left to itself, is black. The other he named "abyss," for the void is a region of immensity and vast depths. Next (He made) the incorporeal essence of water and of life-breath and, to crown all, of light. This again, the seventh in order, was an incorporeal pattern, discernible only by the mind, of the sun and of all luminaries which were to come into existence throughout heaven. VIII. Special distinction is accorded by Moses to life-breath and to light. The one he entitles the "breath" of God, because breath is most life-giving, and of life God is the author, while

αἴτιος, τὸ δὲ φῶς <φησιν> ὅτι ὑπερβαλλόντως
καλόν (Gen. i. 4)· τοσούτῳ γὰρ τὸ νοητὸν τοῦ
ὁρατοῦ λαμπρότερόν τε καὶ αὐγοειδέστερον, ὅσῳπερ
ἥλιος, οἶμαι, σκότους, καὶ ἡμέρα νυκτός, καὶ [τὰ
κριτήρια] νοῦς, ὁ τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς ἡγεμών, ὀφθαλ-
31 μῶν σώματος. τὸ δὲ ἀόρατον καὶ νοητὸν φῶς
[7] ἐκεῖνο θείου λόγου γέγονεν εἰκὼν τοῦ | διερμηνεύ-
σαντος τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἔστιν ὑπερουράνιος
ἀστήρ, πηγὴ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀστέρων· ἣν οὐκ ἂν
ἀπὸ σκοποῦ καλέσειεν ἄν τις παναύγειαν· ἀφ' ἧς
ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πλάνητές τε καὶ
ἀπλανεῖς ἀρύονται, καθ' ὅσον ἑκάστῳ δύναμις,
τὰ πρέποντα φέγγη· τῆς ἀμιγοῦς καὶ καθαρᾶς
αὐγῆς ἐκείνης ἀμαυρουμένης, ὅταν ἄρξηται τρέ-
πεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐκ νοητοῦ πρὸς αἰσθητὸν μετα-
βολήν· εἰλικρινὲς γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν αἰσθήσει.
32 IX. Εὖ μέντοι καὶ τὸ φάναι ὅτι "σκότος ἦν
ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου" (Gen. i. 2). τρόπον γάρ
τινα ὁ ἀὴρ ὑπὲρ τὸ κενόν ἐστιν, ἐπειδὴ πᾶσαν τὴν
ἀχανῆ καὶ ἐρήμην καὶ κενὴν χώραν ἐπιβὰς ἐκ-
πεπλήρωκεν, ὅση πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ σελήνην
33 καθήκει. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ νοητοῦ φωτὸς ἀνά-
λαμψιν, ὃ πρὸ ἡλίου γέγονεν, ὑπεχώρει τὸ ἀντί-
παλον σκότος, διατειχίζοντος ἀπ' ἀλλήλων αὐτὰ
καὶ διιστάντος θεοῦ, τοῦ τὰς ἐναντιότητας εὖ
εἰδότος καὶ τὴν ἐκ φύσεως αὐτῶν διαμάχην. ἵν'
οὖν μὴ αἰεὶ συμφερόμεναι στασιάζωσι καὶ πόλεμος
ἀντ' εἰρήνης ἐπικρατῇ, τὴν ἀκοσμίαν ἐν κόσμῳ
τιθείς, οὐ μόνον ἐχώρισε φῶς καὶ σκότος, ἀλλὰ
καὶ ὅρους ἐν μέσοις ἔθετο διαστήμασιν, οἷς

of light he says that it is beautiful pre-eminently (Gen. i. 4): for the intelligible as far surpasses the visible in the brilliancy of its radiance, as sunlight assuredly surpasses darkness and day night, and mind, the ruler of the entire soul, the bodily eyes. Now that invisible light perceptible only by mind has come into being as an image of the Divine Word Who brought it within our ken: it is a supercelestial constellation, fount of the constellations obvious to sense. It would not be amiss to term it "all-brightness," to signify that from which sun and moon, as well as fixed stars and planets draw, in proportion to their several capacity, the light befitting each of them: for that pure and undiluted radiance is bedimmed so soon as it begins to undergo the change that is entailed by the passage from the intelligible to the sensibly discerned, for no object of sense is free from dimness.

IX. Right too is his statement that "darkness was above the abyss" (Gen. i. 2). For in a sense the air is over the void, inasmuch as it has spread over and completely filled the immensity and desolation of the void, of all that reaches from the zone of the moon to us. After the kindling of the intelligible light, which preceded the sun's creation, darkness its adversary withdrew: for God, in His perfect knowledge of their mutual contrariety and natural conflict, parted them one from another by a wall of separation. In order, therefore, to keep them from the discord arising from perpetual clash, to prevent war in place of peace prevailing and setting up disorder in an ordered universe, He not only separated light and darkness, but also placed in the intervening spaces boundary-marks, by which He held back each

ἀνεῖρξε τῶν ἄκρων ἑκάτερον· ἔμελλε γὰρ γειτνιῶντα
σύγχυσιν ἀπεργάζεσθαι, τῷ περὶ δυναστείας ἀγῶνι
κατὰ πολλὴν καὶ ἄπαυστον φιλονεικίαν ἐπαποδυό-
μενα, εἰ μὴ μέσοι παγέντες ὅροι διέζευξαν καὶ
34 διέλυσαν τὴν ἀντεπίθεσιν. οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν ἑσπέρα
τε καὶ πρωΐα, ὧν ἡ μὲν προευαγγελίζεται μέλλοντα
ἥλιον ἀνίσχειν, ἠρέμα τὸ σκότος ἀνείργουσα, ἡ δ'
ἑσπέρα καταδύντι ἐπιγίνεται ἡλίῳ, τὴν ἀθρόαν
τοῦ σκότους φορὰν πρᾴως ἐκδεχομένη. καὶ ταῦτα
μέντοι, πρωΐαν λέγω καὶ ἑσπέραν, ἐν τῇ τάξει
τῶν ἀσωμάτων καὶ νοητῶν θετέον· ὅλως γὰρ
οὐδὲν αἰσθητὸν ἐν τούτοις, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἰδέαι καὶ
μέτρα καὶ τύποι καὶ σφραγῖδες, εἰς γένεσιν ἄλλων
35 ἀσώματα σωμάτων. ἐπεὶ δὲ φῶς μὲν ἐγένετο.
σκότος δ' ὑπεξέστη καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν, ὅροι δ' ἐν τοῖς
μεταξὺ διαστήμασιν ἐπάγησαν ἑσπέρα καὶ πρωΐα,
κατὰ τἀναγκαῖον τοῦ χρόνου μέτρον ἀπετελεῖτο
εὐθύς, ὃ καὶ ἡμέραν ὁ ποιῶν ἐκάλεσε, καὶ ἡμέραν
οὐχὶ πρώτην, ἀλλὰ μίαν, ἣ λέλεκται διὰ τὴν τοῦ
νοητοῦ κόσμου μόνωσιν μοναδικὴν ἔχοντος φύσιν.
36 X. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀσώματος κόσμος ἤδη πέρας
εἶχεν ἱδρυθεὶς ἐν τῷ θείῳ λόγῳ, ὁ δ' αἰσθητὸς
[8] |πρὸς παράδειγμα τούτου ἐτελειογονεῖτο. καὶ
πρῶτον αὐτοῦ τῶν μερῶν, ὃ δὴ καὶ πάντων
ἄριστον, ἐποίει τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁ δημιουργός, ὃν
ἐτύμως στερέωμα προσηγόρευσεν ἅτε σωματικὸν
ὄντα· τὸ γὰρ σῶμα φύσει στερεόν, ὅτιπερ καὶ
τριχῇ διαστατόν· στερεοῦ δὲ καὶ σώματος ἔννοια

of their extremities: for, had they been actual neighbours, they were sure to produce confusion by engaging with intense and never-ceasing rivalry in the struggle for mastery. As it was, their assault on one another was broken and kept back by barriers set up between them. These barriers are evening and dawn. The latter, gently restraining the darkness, anticipates the sunrise with the glad tidings of its approach; while evening, supervening upon sunset, gives a gentle welcome to the oncoming mass of darkness. We must, however, place these, dawn and evening I mean, in the category of the incorporeal and intelligible: for there is in these nothing whatever patent to the senses, but they are simply models and measuring-rules and patterns and seals, all of these being incorporeal and serving for the creation of other bodies. When light had come into being, and darkness had moved out of its way and retired, and evening and dawn had been fixed as barriers in the intervals between them, as a necessary consequence a measure of time was forthwith brought about, which its Maker called Day, and not "first" day but "one," an expression due to the uniqueness of the intelligible world, and to its having therefore a natural kinship to the number "One."

X. The incorporeal world, then, was now finished and firmly settled in the Divine Reason, and the world patent to sense was ripe for birth after the pattern of the incorporeal. And first of its parts, best of them all, the Creator proceeded to make the Heaven, which with strict truth he entitled firmament, as being corporeal: for the body is naturally solid, seeing that it has a threefold dimension. What else

τίς ἑτέρα πλὴν τὸ πάντῃ διεστηκός; εἰκότως οὖν ἀντιθεὶς τῷ νοητῷ καὶ ἀσωμάτῳ τὸν αἰσθητὸν
37 καὶ σωματοειδῆ τοῦτον στερέωμα ἐκάλεσεν. εἶτ' εὐθέως οὐρανὸν προσεῖπεν αὐτόν, εὐθυβόλως καὶ πάνυ κυρίως, ἤτοι διότι πάντων ὅρος ἢ διότι πρῶτος τῶν ὁρατῶν ἐγένετο. ὀνομάζει δὲ καὶ ἡμέραν μετὰ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ δευτέραν, ὅλον ἡμέρας διάστημα καὶ μέτρον ἀνατιθεὶς οὐρανῷ, διὰ τὴν ἐν αἰσθητοῖς ἀξίωσίν τε καὶ τιμήν.

38 XI. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ', ἐπειδὴ τὸ σύμπαν ὕδωρ εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν γῆν ἀνεκέχυτο, καὶ διὰ πάντων αὐτῆς ἐπεφοιτήκει τῶν μερῶν, οἷα σπογγιᾶς ἀναπεπωκυίας ἰκμάδα, ὡς εἶναι τέλματα καὶ βαθὺν πηλόν, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στοιχείων ἀναδεδευμένων καὶ συγκεχυμένων τρόπον φυράματος εἰς μίαν ἀδιάκριτον καὶ ἄμορφον φύσιν, προστάττει ὁ θεὸς τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ, ὅσον ἁλμυρὸν καὶ ἀγονίας αἴτιον ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι σπαρτοῖς καὶ δένδρεσιν, ἐπισυναχθῆναι συρρυὲν ἐκ τῶν τῆς ἁπάσης γῆς ἀραιωμάτων, τὴν δὲ ξηρὰν ἀναφανῆναι, τῆς τοῦ γλυκέος νοτίδος ἐναπολειφθείσης εἰς διαμονήν· κόλλα γάρ τίς ἐστιν ἡ μεμετρημένη γλυκεῖα νοτὶς τῶν διεστηκότων—καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀφαυανθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ἄγονον καὶ στεῖραν γενέσθαι, καὶ ὅπως οἷα μήτηρ μὴ μόνον θάτερον εἶδος τροφῆς βρῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἑκάτερον ὡς ἂν ἐκγόνοις βρῶσίν τε

[a] οὐρανός = "heaven," ὅρος = "boundary," ὁρᾶν = "see."

indeed do we conceive a solid object and a body to be, but that which extends in each direction? Fitly then, in contradistinction to the incorporeal and purely intelligible, did He call this body-like heaven perceived by our senses "the solid firmament." After so designating it He went on forthwith to speak of it as "heaven." He did so with unerring propriety, either because it is the "boundary" of all things, or because it came into being first of things "visible."[a] When the heaven had been created he names a second day, thus assigning to heaven the whole space and interval of a day. He does this by reason of the position of dignity which heaven occupies among the objects of sense.

XI. At this stage, then, water in all its volume had been poured forth over all the earth, and had found its way through all its parts, as through a sponge saturated with moisture. It had produced swamps and deep mud, earth and water being mingled together and kneaded, like a mass of dough, into a single element without shape or distinction of its parts. So God next bids all the briny water, which would have been the cause of barrenness to crops and trees, to be gathered together by flowing to the same point from the pores of the whole earth, and the dry land to appear. The moisture of the fresh sweet part was left behind to secure its permanence, since, when supplied in fit quantity, this sweet moisture served as a cohesive to the separate parts. This was to prevent it from being entirely dried up, and so becoming unproductive and barren, and enable it like a mother to provide, as for offspring, not one only of the two kinds of nourishment, namely solid food, but both kinds, food and

καὶ πόσιν, παρέχῃ· διὸ φλέβας μαστοῖς ἐοικυίας ἐπλημμύρει, αἳ στομωθεῖσαι ποταμοὺς καὶ πηγὰς
39 ἔμελλον ἀναχεῖν. οὐδὲν δὲ ἧττον καὶ τὰς ἀφανεῖς ἐνίκμους διαφύσεις εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν ἀρετῶσαν καὶ βαθύγειον ἀπέτεινε πρὸς εὐφορίαν ἀφθονωτάτην καρπῶν. ταῦτα διαταξάμενος, ὀνόματ' αὐτοῖς ἐτίθετο, τὴν μὲν ξηρὰν καλῶν γῆν, τὸ δ' ἀποκριθὲν
40 ὕδωρ θάλασσαν. XII. εἶτα διακοσμεῖν ἄρχεται τὴν γῆν· κελεύει γὰρ αὐτὴν χλοηφορεῖν καὶ σταχυηφορεῖν, παντοίας βοτάνας ἀνιεῖσαν καὶ πεδία εὔχορτα, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα χιλὸς μὲν κτήνεσιν ἀνθρώποις δ' ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι τροφή. προσέτι μέντοι καὶ τὰς δένδρων ἰδέας ἁπάσας ἀνέφυεν· οὐδέν, οὔτε τῶν τῆς ἀγρίας, οὔτε τῶν τῆς ἡμέρου λεγομένης ὕλης, παρείς. ἐβεβρίθει δὲ πάντα καρποῖς
[9] | εὐθὺς ἅμα τῇ πρώτῃ γενέσει, κατὰ τὸν ἐναντίον
41 τρόπον ἢ τὸν νυνὶ καθεστῶτα. νυνὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐν μέρει γίγνεται τὰ γιγνόμενα χρόνοις διαφέρουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀθρόα καιρῷ ἑνί· τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι πρῶτον μέν ἐστι σπορὰ καὶ φυτεία, δεύτερον δὲ τῶν σπαρέντων καὶ φυτευθέντων αὔξησις, ἡ μὲν εἰς τὸ κάτω ῥίζας ἀποτείνουσα οἱονεὶ θεμελίους, ἡ δ' εἰς τὸ ἄνω πρὸς ὕψος αἰρομένων καὶ στελεχουμένων; ἔπειτα βλαστοὶ καὶ πετάλων ἐκφύσεις, εἶτ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι καρποῦ φορά· καὶ πάλιν καρπὸς οὐ τέλειος, ἀλλ' ἔχων παντοίας μεταβολάς, κατά τε τὴν ἐν μεγέθει ποσότητα, καὶ τὰς ἐν πολυμόρφοις ἰδέαις ποιότητας· ἀποτίκτεται μὲν γὰρ ὁ καρπὸς ἐοικὼς ἀμερέσι ψήγμασιν ὑπὸ βραχύτητος μόλις ὁρατοῖς, ἅπερ οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ φαίη τις ἂν εἶναι πρῶτα αἰσθητά. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον, ἔκ τε τῆς ἐποχετευομένης τροφῆς, ἣ ἄρδει τὸ

drink. Wherefore the earth had abounding veins like breasts. These when opened would pour forth rivers and springs. No less did He cause the hidden courses of moisture also to penetrate to the rich deep loam with a view to unstinted fertility. Having thus ordered these elements He gave them names. The dry land he called "earth," and the water separated from it "sea." XII. He next begins to put the earth in order: for he bids it bear grass and corn, and send forth herbs of all kinds, and rich pastures, and whatsoever would be provender for cattle and food for men. Beside these he caused all kinds of trees to grow, leaving out no tree at all, whether of wild growth or what we call garden trees. And, after a fashion quite contrary to the present order of Nature, all were laden with fruit as soon as ever they came into existence. For now the processes take place in turn, one at one time, one at another, not all of them simultaneously at one season. For everyone knows that sowing and planting come first, the growth of the things sown and planted second, the former causing roots to reach downwards like foundations, the latter taking place as they rise upwards, grow tall, and develop trunks and stems. After this come sproutings and puttings forth of leaves, and then to crown all, bearing of fruit; and here again fruit not full grown, but subject to all manner of changes both in quantity and quality, that is to say, in the matter of size and of ever varying character. For the first shape it takes is that of indivisible flakes so small that they can scarcely be seen, which a man would not be wrong in describing as "first perceptibles." After this as the result of gradual growth and as the result of nourishment conveyed

δένδρον, κἀκ τῆς εὐκρασίας τῶν πνευμάτων, ἃ ψυχραῖς ἅμα καὶ μαλακωτέραις αὔραις ζωπυρεῖται καὶ τιθηνεῖται, συναύξεται πρὸς ὄγκον ἐπιδιδοὺς τελειότατον· σὺν δὲ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τὰς ποιότητας ἀλλάττει, καθάπερ ὑπὸ γραφικῆς ἐπιστήμης χρώμασι διαφόροις ποικιλλόμενος.

42 XIII. Ἐν δὲ τῇ πρώτῃ γενέσει τῶν ὅλων, καθάπερ ἔφην, ὁ θεὸς ἅπασαν τὴν τῶν φυτῶν ὕλην ἐκ γῆς ἀνεδίδου τελείαν, καρποὺς ἔχουσαν οὐκ ἀτελεῖς ἀλλ' ἀκμάζοντας, εἰς ἑτοιμοτάτην καὶ ἀνυπέρθετον χρῆσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν ζῴων τῶν
43 αὐτίκα γενησομένων. ὁ μὲν δὴ προστάττει τῇ γῇ ταῦτα γεννῆσαι· ἡ δ', ὥσπερ ἐκ πολλοῦ κυοφοροῦσα καὶ ὠδίνουσα, τίκτει πάσας μὲν τὰς σπαρτῶν, πάσας δὲ τὰς δένδρων, ἔτι δὲ καρπῶν ἀμυθήτους ἰδέας. ἀλλ' οὐ μόνον ἦσαν οἱ καρποὶ τροφαὶ ζῴοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρασκευαὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὁμοίων ἀεὶ γένεσιν, τὰς σπερματικὰς οὐσίας περιέχοντες, ἐν αἷς ἄδηλοι καὶ ἀφανεῖς οἱ λόγοι τῶν ὅλων εἰσί, δῆλοι καὶ φανεροὶ γινόμενοι καιρῶν
44 περιόδοις. ἐβουλήθη γὰρ ὁ θεὸς δολιχεύειν τὴν φύσιν, ἀπαθανατίζων τὰ γένη, καὶ μεταδιδοὺς αὐτοῖς ἀιδιότητος· οὗ χάριν καὶ ἀρχὴν πρὸς τέλος ἦγε καὶ ἐπέσπευδε, καὶ τέλος ἐπ' ἀρχὴν ἀνακάμπτειν ἐποίει· ἔκ τε γὰρ φυτῶν ὁ καρπός, ὡς ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τέλος, καὶ ἐκ καρποῦ τὸ σπέρμα περιέχοντος ἐν ἑαυτῷ πάλιν τὸ φυτόν, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τέλους ἀρχή.

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[a] See App. p. 475.

by irrigation, which waters the tree, and as the result of the well-tempered breezes which are quickened by cold and softened by milder temperature, it develops towards its complete size: and as it becomes larger, it becomes different in appearance as well, as though it were being ever made to take varied hues by a painter's cunning hand.

XIII. Now in the original creation of all things, as I have said already, God caused all shrubs and plants to spring out of the earth perfect, having fruits not unripe but at their prime, to be perfectly ready for the immediate use and enjoyment of the animals that were forthwith to come into being. God then enjoins the earth to give birth to all these, and the earth, as though it had been long pregnant and in travail, brings forth all kinds of things sown, all kinds of trees, and countless kinds of fruits besides. But not only were the several fruits nourishment for animals, but also a provision for the perpetual reproduction of their kind, containing within them the seed-substances. Hidden and imperceptible in these substances are the principles or nuclei[a] of all things. As the seasons go round these become open and manifest. For God willed that Nature should run a course that brings it back to its starting-point, endowing the species with immortality, and making them sharers of eternal existence. For the sake of this He both led on the beginning speedily towards the end, and made the end to retrace its way to the beginning. For it is the case both that the fruit comes out of the plants, as an end out of a beginning, and that out of the fruit again, containing as it does the seed in itself, there comes the plant, a beginning out of an end.

45 XIV. Τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν γῆν τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐποίκιλλε διακοσμῶν· οὐκ ἐπειδὴ τοῦτον ἐν ὑστέρῳ γῆς ἔταττε, τῇ μὲν ἐλάττονι φύσει προνομίαν διδούς, τὴν δὲ κρείττονα καὶ θειοτέραν δευτερείων ἀξιῶν· ἀλλ' εἰς ἔνδειξιν ἐναργεστάτην κράτους ἀρχῆς. προλαβὼν γὰρ περὶ τῶν οὔπω
[10] γεγονότων | ἀνθρώπων, οἷοι τὰς γνώμας ἔσονται, στοχασταὶ τῶν εἰκότων καὶ πιθανῶν, ἐν οἷς πολὺ τὸ εὔλογον, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τῆς ἀκραιφνοῦς ἀληθείας· καὶ ὅτι πιστεύσουσι μᾶλλον τοῖς φαινομένοις ἢ θεῷ, σοφιστείαν πρὸ σοφίας θαυμάσαντες· κατιδόντες τε αὖθις τὰς ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης περιόδους, δι' ὧν θέρη χειμῶνες καὶ ἔαρος καὶ μετοπώρου τροπαί· τῶν ἐκ γῆς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος φυομένων καὶ γιγνομένων ἁπάντων αἰτίας ὑπολήψονται τὰς τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν ἀστέρων περιπολήσεις· ἵνα μηδενὶ γενητῷ τὰς πρώτας ἀνατιθέναι τινὲς τολμῶσιν, ἢ διὰ θράσος ἀναίσχυντον, ἢ δι' ἀμαθίαν ὑπερβάλ-
46 λουσαν, "ἀναδραμέτωσαν," φησί, "ταῖς διανοίαις ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην τῶν ὅλων γένεσιν, ὅτε πρὸ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης παντοῖα μὲν φυτά, παντοίους δὲ καρποὺς ἤνεγκεν ἡ γῆ· καί, θεασάμενοι ταῖς διανοίαις, ἐλπιζέτωσαν ὅτι καὶ αὖθις οἴσει κατὰ πρόσταξιν τοῦ πατρός, ὅταν αὐτῷ δοκῇ, μὴ προσδεηθέντι τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν ἐκγόνων, οἷς δυνάμεις μὲν ἔδωκεν, οὐ μὴν αὐτοκρατεῖς. οἷα γὰρ ἡνίοχος ἡνιῶν, ἢ κυβερνήτης οἰάκων ἐνειλημμένος, ἄγει ᾗ ἂν ἐθέλῃ κατὰ νόμον καὶ δίκην ἕκαστα, μηδενὸς

XIV. On the fourth day, the earth being now finished, he ordered the heaven in varied beauty. Not that He put the heaven in a lower rank than the earth, giving precedence to the inferior creation, and accounting the higher and more divine worthy only of the second place; but to make clear beyond all doubt the mighty sway of His sovereign power. For being aware beforehand of the ways of thinking that would mark the men of future ages, how they would be intent on what looked probable and plausible, with much in it that could be supported by argument, but would not aim at sheer truth; and how they would trust phenomena rather than God, admiring sophistry more than wisdom; and how they would observe in time to come the circuits of sun and moon, on which depend summer and winter and the changes of spring and autumn, and would suppose that the regular movements of the heavenly bodies are the causes of all things that year by year come forth and are produced out of the earth; that there might be none who owing either to shameless audacity or to overwhelming ignorance should venture to ascribe the first place to any created thing, 'let them,' said He, 'go back in thought to the original creation of the universe, when, before sun or moon existed, the earth bore plants of all sorts and fruits of all sorts; and having contemplated this let them form in their minds the expectation that hereafter too shall it bear these at the Father's bidding, whensoever it may please Him.' For He has no need of His heavenly offspring on which He bestowed powers but not independence: for, like a charioteer grasping the reins or a pilot the tiller, He guides all things in what direction He pleases as law and right demand,

προσδεόμενος ἄλλου· πάντα γὰρ θεῷ δυνατά.
47 XV. ἥδ᾿ ἐστὶν αἰτία δι᾿ ἣν προτέρα
μὲν ἐβλάστησε καὶ ἐχλοηφόρησεν ἡ γῆ. ὁ δ᾿
οὐρανὸς διεκοσμεῖτο αὖθις ἐν ἀριθμῷ τελείῳ,
τετράδι, ἣν δεκάδος τῆς παντελείας οὐκ ἂν δι-
αμάρτοι τις ἀφορμὴν εἶναι λέγων καὶ πηγήν· ὃ
γὰρ ἐντελεχείᾳ δεκάς, τοῦτο τετράς, ὡς ἔοικε,
δυνάμει· εἰ γοῦν οἱ ἀπὸ μονάδος ἄχρι τετράδος
ἑξῆς συντεθεῖεν ἀριθμοί, δεκάδα γεννήσουσιν, ἥτις
ὅρος τῆς ἀπειρίας τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἐστι, περὶ ὃν ὡς
καμπτῆρα εἱλοῦνται καὶ ἀνακάμπτουσι.
48 Περιέχει δ᾿ ἡ τετρὰς καὶ τοὺς λόγους τῶν κατὰ
μουσικὴν συμφωνιῶν, τῆς τε διὰ τεττάρων, καὶ
διὰ πέντε, καὶ διὰ πασῶν, καὶ προσέτι δὶς διὰ
πασῶν· ἐξ ὧν σύστημα τὸ τελειότατον ἀπο-
γεννᾶται. τῆς μὲν διὰ τεττάρων ὁ λόγος ἐπίτριτος,
τῆς δὲ διὰ πέντε ἡμιόλιος, διπλάσιος δὲ τῆς διὰ
πασῶν, τετραπλάσιος δὲ τῆς δὶς διὰ πασῶν· οὓς
ἅπαντας ἡ τετρὰς ἔχει περιλαβοῦσα, τὸν μὲν ἐπί-
τριτον ἐν τῷ τέσσαρα πρὸς τρία, τὸν δ᾿ ἡμιόλιον
[11] ἐν τῷ | τρία πρὸς δύο, τὸν δὲ διπλάσιον ἐν τῷ
δύο πρὸς ἓν ἢ τέσσαρα πρὸς δύο, τὸν δὲ τετρα-
49 πλάσιον ἐν τῷ τέσσαρα πρὸς ἕν. XVI.
ἔστι δὲ καὶ δύναμις ἄλλη τετράδος, λεχθῆναί τε
καὶ νοηθῆναι θαυμασιωτάτη. πρώτη γὰρ αὕτη
τὴν τοῦ στερεοῦ φύσιν ἔδειξε, τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς
ἀριθμῶν τοῖς ἀσωμάτοις ἀνακειμένων· κατὰ μὲν
γὰρ τὸ ἓν τάττεται τὸ λεγόμενον ἐν γεωμετρίᾳ
σημεῖον, κατὰ δὲ τὰ δύο γραμμή, διότι ῥύσει
μὲν ἑνὸς δυάς, ῥύσει δὲ σημείου συνίσταται γραμ-
μή· γραμμὴ δ᾿ ἐστὶ μῆκος ἀπλατές· πλάτους δὲ
προσγενομένου γίνεται ἐπιφάνεια, ἣ τέτακται κατὰ

standing in need of no one besides: for all things are possible to God. XV. This is the reason why the earth put forth plants and bore herbs before the heaven was furnished. But the heaven was afterwards duly decked in a perfect number, namely four. This number it would be no error to call the base and source of 10, the complete number; for what 10 is actually, this, as is evident, 4 is potentially; that is to say that, if the numbers from 1 to 4 be added together, they will produce 10, and this is the limit set to the otherwise unlimited succession of numbers; round this as a turning-point they wheel and retrace their steps.

4 also contains the ratios of the musical consonances, that produced by an interval of four notes, and that produced by an interval of five, and the octave and double octave as well. And it is out of these that the most perfect concord is produced. Of that produced by an interval of four notes the ratio is $1\frac{1}{3}$, of that produced by an interval of five $1\frac{1}{2}$, of the octave 2, of the double octave 4. All these the number 4 embraces in itself, $1\frac{1}{3}$ in the ratio 4 : 3; $1\frac{1}{2}$ in the ratio 6 : 4; 2 in the ratio 4 : 2; 4 in the ratio 4 : 1. XVI. There is also another property of the number 4 very marvellous to state and to contemplate with the mind. For this number was the first to show the nature of the solid, the numbers before it referring to things without actual substance. For under the head of 1 what is called in geometry a point falls, under that of 2 a line. For if 1 extend itself, 2 is formed, and if a point extend itself, a line is formed: and a line is length without breadth; if breadth be added, there results a surface, which comes under the category of 3: to

τριάδα· ἐπιφανείᾳ δὲ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ στερεοῦ φύσιν ἑνὸς δεῖ τοῦ βάθους, ὃ προστεθὲν τριάδι γίνεται τετράς. ὅθεν καὶ μέγα χρῆμα συμβέβηκεν εἶναι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον, ὃς ἐκ τῆς ἀσωμάτου καὶ νοητῆς οὐσίας ἤγαγεν εἰς ἔννοιαν ἡμᾶς τριχῇ διαστατοῦ σώματος, τοῦ φύσει πρῶτον αἰσθητοῦ.
50 ὁ δὲ μὴ συνεὶς τὸ λεγόμενον ἔκ τινος παιδιᾶς εἴσεται πάνυ συνήθους. οἱ καρυατίζοντες εἰώθασι τρία ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ κάρυα προτιθέντες ἐπιφέρειν ἕν, σχῆμα πυραμοειδὲς ἀπογεννῶντες· τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ τρίγωνον ἵσταται μέχρι τριάδος, τὸ δ' ἐπιτεθὲν τετράδα μὲν ἐν ἀριθμοῖς, ἐν δὲ σχήμασι
51 πυραμίδα γεννᾷ, στερεὸν ἤδη σῶμα. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο ἀγνοητέον, ὅτι πρῶτος ἀριθμῶν ὁ τέτταρα τετράγωνός ἐστιν ἰσάκις ἴσος, μέτρον δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἰσότητος, καὶ ὅτι μόνος ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ συνθέσει καὶ δυνάμει πέφυκε γεννᾶσθαι, συνθέσει μὲν ἐκ δυοῖν καὶ δυοῖν, δυνάμει δὲ πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ δὶς δύο, πάγκαλόν τι συμφωνίας εἶδος ἐπιδεικνύμενος, ὃ μηδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀριθμῶν συμβέβηκεν· αὐτίκα γοῦν ὁ ἕξ, συντιθέμενος ἐκ δυοῖν τριάδων, οὐκέτι γεννᾶται πολυπλασιασθεισῶν, ἀλλ'
52 ἕτερος, ὁ ἐννέα. πολλαῖς δὲ καὶ ἄλλαις κέχρηται δυνάμεσι τετράς, ἃς ἀκριβέστερον καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐτῆς ἰδίῳ λόγῳ προσυποδεικτέον. ἀπόχρη δὲ κἀκεῖνο προσθεῖναι, ὅτι καὶ τῇ τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ κόσμου γενέσει γέγονεν ἀρχή· τὰ γὰρ τέτταρα στοιχεῖα, ἐξ ὧν τόδε τὸ πᾶν

bring it to a solid surface needs one thing, depth, and the addition of this to 3 produces 4. The result of all this is that this number is a thing of vast importance. It was this number that has led us out of the realm of incorporeal existence patent only to the intellect, and has introduced us to the conception of a body of three dimensions, which by its nature first comes within the range of our senses. Anyone who does not understand what I am saying will catch my meaning if he calls to mind a very familiar game. Players with nuts are in the habit of setting out three nuts all on one level and of adding one to these, thus forming a pyramidal figure. The figure of the triangle on the level only reaches the number 3; the added nut produces, in numbers 4, but in figures a pyramid, a body rendered solid by its accession. In addition to these points we must remember also that first among numbers 4 is a square, made up of equal factors multiplying into one another, a measure of rightness and equality, and that alone among them it is such as to be produced from the same factors whether added or multiplied together, by addition out of 2 and 2, and by multiplication again out of twice 2, thus exhibiting a right fair form of consonance, such as has fallen to none of the other numbers; for example –6, sum as it is of two 3's, is not (as in the case of 4) produced by their being multiplied together, but a different number, 9, results. There are several other powers of which 4 has the command, which we shall have to point out in fuller detail in the special treatise devoted to it. Suffice it to add just this, that 4 was made the starting-point of the creation of heaven and the world; for the four elements, out of which

ἐδημιουργήθη, καθάπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἐρρύη τῆς ἐν ἀριθμοῖς τετράδος· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις αἱ ἐτήσιοι ὧραι τέτταρες αἱ ζῴων καὶ φυτῶν αἴτιαι γενέσεως, τετραχῇ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ διανεμηθέντος εἰς χειμῶνα καὶ ἔαρ καὶ θέρος καὶ μετόπωρον.

53 XVII. Τοσαύτης οὖν ἀξιωθέντος ἐν τῇ φύσει προνομίας τοῦ λεχθέντος ἀριθμοῦ, κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ὁ ποιητὴς διεκόσμει τὸν οὐρανὸν τετράδι, παγκάλῳ καὶ θεοειδεστάτῳ κόσμῳ, τοῖς φωσφόροις ἄστροις· εἰδώς τε ὅτι τῶν ὄντων ἄριστον
[12] τὸ φῶς ἐστιν, | ὄργανον αὐτὸ τῆς ἀρίστης τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὁράσεως ἀπέφαινεν· ὅπερ γὰρ νοῦς ἐν ψυχῇ, τοῦτ᾽ ὀφθαλμὸς ἐν σώματι· βλέπει γὰρ ἑκάτερος, ὁ μὲν τὰ νοητά, ὁ δὲ τὰ αἰσθητά· χρεῖος δὲ ὁ μὲν νοῦς ἐπιστήμης εἰς τὸ γνωρίσαι τὰ ἀσώματα, ὀφθαλμὸς δὲ φωτὸς εἰς τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἀντίληψιν, ὃ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον γέγονεν ἀνθρώποις, διαφερόντως δὲ τοῦ
54 μεγίστου, φιλοσοφίας. ὑπὸ γὰρ φωτὸς ἄνω παραπεμφθεῖσα ἡ ὅρασις, καὶ κατιδοῦσα φύσιν ἀστέρων καὶ κίνησιν αὐτῶν ἐναρμόνιον, ἀπλανῶν τε καὶ πλανήτων εὖ διατεταγμένας περιφοράς, τῶν μὲν κατὰ ταὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως περιπολούντων, τῶν δ᾽ ἀνομοίως τε καὶ ὑπεναντίως διτταῖς περιόδοις χρωμένων, χορείας τε πάντων ἐμμελεῖς νόμοις τοῖς μουσικῆς τελείας διακεκοσμημένας, ἄλεκτον ἐμπαρεῖχε τῇ ψυχῇ τέρψιν τε καὶ ἡδονήν· ἡ δ᾽ ἑστιωμένη θεαμάτων ἐπαλλήλων, ἐξ ἑτέρων γὰρ ἦν ἕτερα, πολλὴν ἀπληστίαν εἶχε

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[a] See App. p. 475.

this universe was fashioned, issued, as it were from a fountain, from the numeral 4; and, beside this, so also did the four seasons of the year, which are responsible for the coming into being of animals and plants, the year having a fourfold division into winter and spring and summer and autumn.

XVII. The aforesaid numeral, then, having been deemed worthy of such high privilege in nature, it was a matter of course that its Maker arrayed the heaven on the fourth day with a most divine adornment of perfect beauty, namely the light-giving heavenly bodies; and, knowing that of all things light is best, He made it the indispensable means of sight, the best of the senses; for what the intellect is in the soul, this the eye is in the body; for each of them sees, one the things of the mind, the other the things of sense; and they have need, the mind of knowledge, that it may become cognisant of incorporeal objects, the eye of light, for the apprehending of bodily forms. Light has proved itself the source of many other boons to mankind, but pre-eminently of philosophy, the greatest boon of all. For man's faculty of vision, led upwards by light, discerned the nature of the heavenly bodies and their harmonious movement.[a] He saw the well-ordered circuits of fixed stars and planets, how the former moved in unchanging orbit and all alike, while the latter sped round in two revolutions out of harmony with each other. He marked the rhythmic dances of all these, how they were marshalled by the laws of a perfect music, and the sight produced in his soul an ineffable delight and pleasure. Banqueting on sights displayed to it one after another, his soul was insatiate in beholding.

τοῦ θεωρεῖν· εἶθ᾽, οἷα φιλεῖ, προσπεριειργάζετο, τίς ἡ τῶν ὁρατῶν δὴ τούτων οὐσία, καὶ εἰ ἀγένητοι πεφύκασιν ἢ γενέσεως ἔλαβον ἀρχήν, καὶ τίς ὁ τρόπος τῆς κινήσεως, καὶ τίνες αἱ αἰτίαι δι᾽ ὧν ἕκαστα οἰκονομεῖται· ἐκ δὲ τῆς τούτων ζητήσεως τὸ φιλοσοφίας συνέστη γένος, οὗ τελειότερον ἀγαθὸν
55 οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον. XVIII. πρὸς δὴ τὴν τοῦ νοητοῦ φωτὸς ἰδέαν ἐκείνην ἀπιδών, ἣ λέλεκται κατὰ τὸν ἀσώματον κόσμον, ἐδημιούργει τοὺς αἰσθητοὺς ἀστέρας, ἀγάλματα θεῖα καὶ περικαλλέστατα, οὓς ὥσπερ ἐν ἱερῷ καθαρωτάτῳ τῆς σωματικῆς οὐσίας ἵδρυε τῷ οὐρανῷ, πολλῶν χάριν· ἑνὸς μὲν τοῦ φωσφορεῖν, ἑτέρου δὲ σημείων, εἶτα καιρῶν τῶν περὶ τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἡμερῶν, μηνῶν, ἐνιαυτῶν, ἃ δὴ καὶ μέτρα χρόνου γέγονε καὶ τὴν ἀριθμοῦ
56 φύσιν ἐγέννησεν. οἵαν δ᾽ ἕκαστον παρέχεται τῶν εἰρημένων χρείαν τε καὶ ὠφέλειαν, δῆλον μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐναργείας, πρὸς δ᾽ ἀκριβεστέραν κατάληψιν οὐκ ἄτοπον ἴσως καὶ λόγῳ τἀληθὲς ἰχνηλατῆσαι.

τοῦ δὴ σύμπαντος χρόνου διανεμηθέντος εἰς δύο τμήματα, ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτα, τῆς μὲν ἡμέρας τὸ κράτος ὁ πατὴρ ἀνεδίδου τῷ ἡλίῳ, οἷα μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς σελήνῃ
57 καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων. τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τῆς περὶ τὸν ἥλιον δυνάμεως καὶ ἀρχῆς ἐμφανεστάτην πίστιν ἔχει τὴν λεχθεῖσαν ἤδη· εἷς γὰρ ὢν καὶ μόνος, ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ᾽ αὑτὸν ἥμισυ τμῆμα τοῦ
[13] σύμπαντος χρόνου | κεκλήρωται τὴν ἡμέραν, οἱ δ᾽

And then, as usually happens, it went on to busy itself with questionings, asking What is the essence of these visible objects? Are they in nature unoriginate, or had they a beginning of existence? What is the method of their movement? And what are the principles by which each is governed? It was out of the investigation of these problems that philosophy grew, than which no more perfect good has come into the life of mankind. XVIII. It was with a view to that original intellectual light, which I have mentioned as belonging to the order of the incorporeal world, that He created the heavenly bodies of which our senses are aware. These are images divine and exceeding fair, which He established in heaven as in the purest temple belonging to corporeal being. This He did that they might serve many purposes. One purpose was to give light; another to be signs; a third duly to fix seasons of the year; and lastly for the sake of days, months, years, which (as we all know) have served as measures of time and given birth to number. The kind of useful service rendered by each of the bodies mentioned is self-evident; yet that the truth may be more precisely apprehended it may not be out of place to follow it step by step in a reasoned account.

All time having been divided into two portions, day and night, the Father assigned the sovereignty of the day to the sun, as to a great king, and that of the night to the moon and the host of the other stars. The greatness of the sway and government pertaining to the sun finds its clearest proof in what has been already mentioned: one and alone it has by itself separately had day apportioned to it, half of the whole of time; while all the rest with the moon have

ἄλλοι πάντες μετὰ σελήνης θάτερον ὃ κέκληται
νύξ· καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀνατείλαντος, αἱ φαντασίαι τῶν
τοσούτων ἀστέρων οὐκ ἀμαυροῦνται μόνον, ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἀφανίζονται τῇ τοῦ φέγγους ἀναχύσει, κατα-
δύντος δέ, τὰς ἰδίας ἄρχονται διαφαίνειν ἀθρόοι
58 ποιότητας. XIX. γεγόνασι δ' ὅπερ
αὐτὸς εἶπεν οὐ μόνον ἵνα φῶς ἐκπέμπωσιν ἐπὶ
γῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπως σημεῖα μελλόντων προ-
φαίνωσιν· ἢ γὰρ ἀνατολαῖς αὐτῶν, ἢ δύσεσιν, ἢ ἐκ-
λείψεσιν, ἢ πάλιν ἐπιτολαῖς ἢ ἀποκρύψεσιν, ἢ
ταῖς ἄλλαις περὶ τὰς κινήσεις διαφοραῖς, ἄνθρωποι
τὰ ἀποβησόμενα στοχάζονται, καρπῶν φορὰς καὶ
ἀφορίας, ζῴων τε γενέσεις καὶ φθοράς, αἰθρίας
καὶ νεφώσεις, νηνεμίας καὶ βίας πνευμάτων,
ποταμῶν πλημμύρας καὶ κενώσεις, θαλάττης ἠρε-
μίαν καὶ κλύδωνα, ὡρῶν τῶν ἐτησίων ὑπαλλαγάς,
ἢ θέρους χειμαίνοντος, ἢ χειμῶνος φλέγοντος, ἢ
ἔαρος μετοπωρίζοντος, ἢ μετοπώρου ἐαρίζοντος·
59 ἤδη δὲ καὶ κλόνον καὶ σεισμὸν γῆς ἐκ τῶν κατ'
οὐρανὸν κινήσεων στοχασμῷ προεσήμηνάν τινες,
καὶ μυρία ἄλλα τῶν ἀηθεστέρων, ὡς ἀψευδέστατα
λελέχθαι ὅτι "γεγόνασιν εἰς σημεῖα" οἱ ἀστέρες·
προσέτι μέντοι καὶ "εἰς καιρούς"
(Gen. i. 14), καιροὺς δὲ τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας ὑπ-
είληφεν εἶναι, καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· ἔννοια γὰρ
καιροῦ τίς ἂν εἴη πλὴν χρόνος κατορθώσεως; αἱ
δ' ὧραι πάντα τελεσφοροῦσαι κατορθοῦσι, σποράς,
καὶ φυτείας καρπῶν, καὶ ζῴων γενέσεις τε καὶ
60 αὐξήσεις. γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ πρὸς μέτρα

[a] Or "Moses himself declared."

had allotted to them the other half, which has received the name of night. And when the sun has risen, all that multitude of stars which were visible but now is not merely dimmed but becomes actually invisible through the pouring forth of its light; and upon its setting they begin all of them to shine out in their own true characters.

XIX. The purpose of their existence is, as the Lord Himself pronounced,[a] not only to send forth light upon the earth, but also to give timely signs of coming events. For either by their risings or settings or eclipses, or again by the seasons of their appearance or disappearance, or by other alterations in their movements, men conjecture future issues, good harvests and bad, increase and decay of animal life, fair weather and foul, gales and calms, floodings and shrinkings of rivers, seas smooth and rough, irregularities of the seasons, either wintry summers, or scorching winters, or springs like autumn, or autumns like spring. Indeed it has happened that, by conjecture based on the movements of the heavenly bodies, men have notified in advance a disturbance and shaking of the earth, and countless other unusual occurrences, proving the complete truth of the words, "the stars were made for signs." It is added, moreover, "and for appointed times" (Gen. i. 14). By "appointed times" Moses understood the four seasons of the year, and surely with good reason. For what idea does "appointed time" convey but "time of achievement"? Now the four seasons of the year bring about achievement by bringing all things to perfection, all sowing and planting of crops, and the birth and growth of animals. The heavenly bodies were

χρόνων· ἡλίου γὰρ καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεταγμέναις περιόδοις ἡμέραι καὶ μῆνες καὶ ἐνιαυτοὶ συνέστησαν. εὐθύς τε τὸ χρησιμώτατον, ἡ ἀριθμοῦ φύσις, ἐδείχθη, χρόνου παραφήναντος αὐτήν· ἐκ γὰρ μιᾶς ἡμέρας τὸ ἕν, καὶ ἐκ δυοῖν τὰ δύο, καὶ ἐκ τριῶν τὰ τρία, καὶ ἐκ μηνὸς τὰ τριάκοντα, καὶ ἐξ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸ ἰσάριθμον ταῖς ἐκ δώδεκα μηνῶν ἡμέραις πλῆθος, καὶ ἐξ ἀπείρου
61 χρόνου ὁ ἄπειρος ἀριθμός. εἰς τοσαύτας καὶ οὕτως ἀναγκαίας διατείνουσιν ὠφελείας αἱ τῶν κατ᾿ οὐρανὸν φύσεις τε καὶ κινήσεις ἀστέρων· εἰς πόσα δ᾿ ἄλλα φαίην ἂν ἔγωγε τῶν ἡμῖν μὲν ἀδηλουμένων—οὐ γὰρ πάντα τῷ θνητῷ γένει γνώριμα—πρὸς δὲ τὴν τοῦ ὅλου συνεργούντων διαμονήν, ἃ θεσμοῖς καὶ νόμοις, οὓς ὥρισεν ὁ θεὸς ἀκινήτους ἐν τῷ παντί, συμβαίνει πάντη τε καὶ πάντως ἐπιτελεῖσθαι.

62 XX. Γῆς δὲ καὶ οὐρανοῦ διακοσμηθέντων τοῖς προσήκουσι κόσμοις, τῆς μὲν τριάδι, τοῦ δ᾿ ὡς ἐλέχθη τετράδι, τὰ θνητὰ γένη ζῳοπλαστεῖν ἐνεχείρει, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνύδρων ποιούμενος
[14] ἡμέρᾳ | πέμπτῃ, νομίσας οὐδὲν οὕτως ἕτερον ἑτέρῳ συγγενὲς ὡς ζῴοις πεντάδα. διαφέρει γὰρ ἔμψυχα ἀψύχων οὐδενὶ μᾶλλον ἢ αἰσθήσει· πενταχῇ δὲ τμητὸν αἴσθησις, εἰς ὅρασιν, εἰς ἀκοήν, εἰς γεῦσιν, εἰς ὄσφρησιν, εἰς ἁφήν· ἑκάστῃ μέντοι προσένειμεν ὁ ποιῶν καὶ ἐξαιρέτους ὕλας καὶ κριτήριον ἴδιον, ᾧ δικάσει τὰ ὑποπίπτοντα·

created also to furnish measures of time: for it is by regular revolutions of sun, moon, and the other bodies that days and months and years were constituted. This in itself involved the showing of their most useful service of all; I mean number as part of the world's order, time by its mere lapse indicating it. For out of one day came "one," out of two "two," out of three "three," out of a month "thirty," out of a year the number equivalent to the days made up of twelve months, and out of infinite time came (the conception of) infinite number. So many and so essential are the benefits within the scope of the constitutions and movements of the heavenly bodies. To how vast a number of other operations of nature, methinks, do they extend! Operations obscure to us—for all things are not within the ken of mortals—yet working together for the permanence of the whole; operations which are invariably carried out under ordinances and laws which God laid down in His universe as unalterable.

XX. Earth and heaven having been equipped with the array appropriate to either—earth on the third day, heaven, as has been recounted, on the fourth—the Creator took in hand to form the races of mortal creatures, beginning with aquatic creatures on the fifth day, deeming that there is no kinship so close as that between animals and the number 5. For living creatures differ from those without life in nothing more than in ability to apprehend by the senses; and sense has a fivefold division, into sight, hearing, taste, smell, touch; and to each of these their Maker assigned special aspects of matter, and an individual faculty of testing it, with which to assay objects coming under its notice. Colours are tested by

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χρώματα μὲν [ἡ] ὅρασις, φωνὰς δὲ ἀκοή, χυλοὺς δὲ γεῦσις, καὶ ὄσφρησις ἀτμούς, μαλακότητας δὲ καὶ σκληρότητας καὶ ὅσα θερμὰ ἢ ψυχρὰ λειό-
63 τητάς τε καὶ τραχύτητας ἁφή. παντοῖα οὖν ἰχθύων γένη καὶ κητῶν κελεύει συνίστασθαι, κατὰ τόπους διαφέροντα, καὶ τοῖς μεγέθεσι, καὶ ταῖς ποιότησιν· ἄλλα γὰρ ἐν ἄλλοις πελάγεσιν, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ταὐτά· πλὴν οὐ πανταχοῦ πάντα διεπλάττετο, καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· χαίρει γὰρ τὰ μέν τινα τεναγώδει καὶ οὐ πάνυ βαθείᾳ θαλάττῃ, τὰ δ' ὑποδρόμοις καὶ λιμέσι, μήτ' ἐπὶ γῆν ἀνέρπειν μήτε πόρρω γῆς ἐπινήχεσθαι δυνάμενα, τὰ δὲ κατὰ μέσον καὶ βαθὺ πέλαγος διαιτώμενα τὰς προκεχυμένας ἄκρας ἢ νήσους ἢ πέτρας ἐκτρέπεται· καὶ τὰ μὲν εὐδίᾳ καὶ γαλήνῃ σφριγᾷ, τὰ δὲ κλύδωνι καὶ κυματώσει· ταῖς γὰρ συνεχέσι πληγαῖς γυμναζόμενα, καὶ βίᾳ τὴν φορὰν ἀνωθοῦντα, κραταιότερά τέ ἐστι καὶ πιαίνεται μᾶλλον. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ γένη τῶν πτηνῶν ἐδημιούργει ὡς ἀδελφὰ τῶν καθ' ὕδατος—ἑκάτερα γὰρ νηκτά—μηδεμίαν ἰδέαν τῶν ἀεροπόρων ἀτελῆ καταλιπών.

64 XXI. Ἤδη δ' ὕδατος καὶ ἀέρος τὰ προσήκοντα τῶν ζῴων γένη, καθάπερ τινὰ κλῆρον οἰκεῖον, ἀπειληφότων, πάλιν ἐκάλει τὴν γῆν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὑπολειφθέντος μέρους γένεσιν—ὑπολέλειπτο δὲ μετὰ τὰ φυτὰ ζῴων τὰ χερσαῖα—καί φησιν· ἐξαγαγέτω ἡ γῆ κτήνη καὶ θηρία καὶ ἑρπετὰ καθ' ἕκαστον γένος (Gen. i. 24). ἡ δὲ τὰ προσταχθέντα αὐτίκα ἀνίησι, τῇ τε κατασκευῇ διαφέροντα, καὶ ταῖς ῥώμαις, καὶ ταῖς ἐνυπαρχούσαις βλαπτικαῖς ἢ ὠφελητικαῖς δυνάμεσιν.

sight, sounds by hearing, savours by taste, perfumes by smell, while touch assays the softness and hardness of various substances, their smoothness and roughness, and recognizes things hot or cold.

So then he bids all kinds of fish and sea-monsters to take shape, creatures differing in their habitats and their sizes and qualities; for different seas produce to some extent different fish: not everywhere were all kinds formed. This is as we should have expected, for some kinds delight in a lagoon and not in a really deep sea, some in harbours and roadsteads. These can neither crawl up on to the land, nor swim far out from the land; and those that haunt the depths of the open seas avoid jutting headlands or islands or rocks. Some thrive in calm unruffled waters, others in those that are stormy and broken by waves; for, through the exercise of bearing their constant blows and of thrusting back their onset by sheer force, they put on flesh and grow lusty.

Directly after these He made all kinds of birds, as sister kinds to those in the waters, both being things that float. And He left incomplete no form of creature that travels in air.

XXI. Water and air having now duly received as a sort of lot of their own the living creatures appropriate to them, He again called upon the earth for the production of the portion that had been left out. When the plants had been created the land-animals had been wanting. So He saith "Let the earth bring forth cattle and wild beasts and creeping things after each kind" (Gen. i. 24). The earth forthwith puts forth, as it was bidden, creatures all differing in build and in the varying strength and capacity to hurt or to serve that was inherent in them.

65 ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσιν ἐποίει τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ὃν δὲ τρόπον, μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐρῶ, πρότερον ἐκεῖνο δηλώσας, ὅτι παγκάλῳ τῷ τῆς ἀκολουθίας εἱρμῷ κέχρηται, καθ' ἣν ὑφηγήσατο ζῳογονίαν. ψυχῆς γὰρ ἡ μὲν ἀργοτάτη καὶ ἥκιστα τετυπωμένη τῷ γένει τῶν ἰχθύων προσκεκλήρωται, ἡ δ' ἀκριβεστάτη καὶ κατὰ πάντα ἀρίστη τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἡ δ' ἀμφοῖν μεθόριος τῷ τῶν χερσαίων καὶ ἀεροπόρων· αὕτη γὰρ αἰσθητικωτέρα μέν ἐστι τῆς ἐν ἰχθύσιν,
66 ἀμυδροτέρα δὲ τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις. διὸ | τῶν ἐμ-
[15] ψύχων πρώτους ἐγέννησεν ἰχθύας, πλέον μετέχοντας σωματικῆς ἢ ψυχικῆς οὐσίας, τρόπον τινὰ ζῷα καὶ οὐ ζῷα, κινητὰ ἄψυχα, πρὸς αὐτὸ μόνον τὴν τῶν σωμάτων διαμονὴν παρασπαρέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ ψυχοειδοῦς, καθάπερ φασὶ τοὺς ἅλας τοῖς κρέασιν, ἵνα μὴ ῥᾳδίως φθείροιντο·

μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ἰχθύας τὰ πτηνὰ καὶ χερσαῖα· ἤδη γὰρ ταῦτα αἰσθητικώτερα, καὶ διὰ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐμφαίνοντα τρανοτέρας τὰς τῆς ψυχώσεως ἰδιότητας· ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσιν, ὡς ἐλέχθη, τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ᾧ νοῦν ἐξαίρετον ἐδωρεῖτο, ψυχῆς τινα ψυχὴν καθάπερ κόρην ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ· καὶ γὰρ ταύτην οἱ τὰς φύσεις τῶν πραγμάτων ἀκριβέστερον ἐρευνῶντες ὀφθαλμοῦ λέγουσιν ὀφθαλμὸν εἶναι.

67 XXII. Τότε μὲν οὖν ἅμα πάντα συνίστατο. συνισταμένων δ' ὁμοῦ πάντων, ἡ τάξις ἀναγκαίως

To crown all he made man, in what way I will say presently, when I have first pointed out the exceeding beauty of the chain of sequence which Moses has employed in setting forth the bringing in of life. For of the forms of animal life, the least elaborately wrought has been allotted to the race of fish ; that worked out in greatest detail and best in all respects to mankind ; that which lies between these two to creatures that tread the earth and travel in the air. For the principle of life in these is endowed with perceptions keener than that in fishes, but less keen than that in men. Wherefore, of the creatures that have life, fishes were the first which he brought into being, creatures in whose being the body predominates over the soul or life-principle. They are in a way animals and not animals ; lifeless beings with the power of movement. The seed of the principle of life has been sown in them adventitiously, with a view only to the perpetuation of their bodies, just as salt (we are told) is added to flesh that it may not easily decay. After the fishes He made the birds and land-creatures ; for, when we come to these, we find them with keener senses and manifesting by their structure far more clearly all the qualities proper to beings endowed with the life-principle. To crown all, as we have said before, He made man, and bestowed on him mind *par excellence*, life-principle of the life-principle itself, like the pupil in the eye : for of this too those who investigate more closely than others the nature of things say that it is the eye of the eye.

XXII. At that time, indeed, all things took shape simultaneously. But, though all things took shape together, the fact that living organisms were after-

λόγῳ ὑπεγράφετο, διὰ τὴν ἐσομένην αὖθις ἐξ ἀλλήλων γένεσιν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ μέρος γινομένοις τάξις ἥδ' ἐστίν, ἄρχεσθαι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ φαυλοτάτου τὴν φύσιν, λήγειν δ' εἰς τὸ πάντων ἄριστον· τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἔστι, δηλωτέον. τὸ σπέρμα τῶν ζῴων γενέσεως ἀρχὴν εἶναι συμβέβηκε· τοῦθ' ὡς ἔστι φαυλότατον ἐοικὸς ἀφρῷ, θεωρεῖται· ἀλλ' ὅταν εἰς τὴν μήτραν καταβληθὲν στηρίσῃ, κίνησιν εὐθὺς λαβὸν εἰς φύσιν τρέπεται· φύσις δὲ βέλτιον σπέρματος, ἐπεὶ καὶ κίνησις ἠρεμίας ἐν γενητοῖς· ἡ δ' οἷα τεχνίτης, ἢ κυριώτερον εἰπεῖν ἀνεπίληπτος τέχνη, ζῳοπλαστεῖ, τὴν μὲν ὑγρὰν οὐσίαν εἰς τὰ τοῦ σώματος μέλη καὶ μέρη διανέμουσα, τὴν δὲ πνευματικὴν εἰς τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις, τήν τε θρεπτικὴν καὶ τὴν αἰσθητικήν· τὴν γὰρ τοῦ λογισμοῦ τανῦν ὑπερθετέον, διὰ τοὺς φάσκοντας θύραθεν αὐτὸν ἐπεισιέναι, θεῖον καὶ
68 ἀίδιον ὄντα. οὐκοῦν ἤρξατο μὲν ἀπὸ σπέρματος εὐτελοῦς ἡ φύσις, ἔληξε δ' εἰς τὸ τιμιώτατον, τὴν ζῴου καὶ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευήν. ταὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς γενέσεως συμβέβηκεν· ἡνίκα γὰρ ζῷα διαπλάττειν ἔδοξε τῷ δημιουργῷ, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῇ τάξει φαυλότερά πως ἦν, ἰχθύες, τὰ δ' ὕστατα ἄριστα, ἄνθρωποι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα μέσα τῶν ἄκρων, ἀμείνω μὲν τῶν

wards to come into existence one out of another rendered necessary an adumbration of the principle of order in the narrative. Now in particular creatures the order we find is this, that they begin at what is lowest in its nature, and end in the best of all; what this best of all is we must go on to show. Now seed is the original starting-point of living creatures. That this is a substance of a very low order, resembling foam, is evident to the eye. But when it has been deposited in the womb and become solid, it acquires movement, and at once enters upon natural growth.[a] But growth is better than seed, since in created things movement is better than quiescence. But nature, or growth, like an artificer, or (to speak more properly) like a consummate art, forms living creatures, by distributing the moist substance to the limbs and different parts of the body, the substance of life-breath [b] to the faculties of the soul, affording them nourishment and endowing them with perception. We must defer for the present the faculty of reasoning, out of consideration for those who maintain that it comes in from without, and is divine and eternal.

Well, then, natural growth started from so poor a thing as seed, but it ended in that which is of greatest worth, the formation of the living creature and of man. Now we find that this selfsame thing has occurred in the case of the creation of the universe also. For when the Creator determined to form living creatures, those first in order were inferior, if we may so speak, namely fishes, while those that came last in order were best, namely men; and coming between the two extremes, better than those

[a] See App. p. 480, note on *L.A.* ii. 22.
[b] Or "air."

προτέρων, χείρω δὲ τῶν ἑτέρων, χερσαῖα καὶ πτηνά.

69 XXIII. Μετὰ δὴ τἆλλα πάντα, καθάπερ ἐλέχθη, τὸν ἄνθρωπόν φησι γεγενῆσθαι, κατ᾽ εἰκόνα θεοῦ καὶ καθ᾽ ὁμοίωσιν (Gen. i. 26)· πάνυ καλῶς, ἐμφερέστερον γὰρ οὐδὲν γηγενὲς ἀνθρώπου θεῷ. τὴν δ᾽ ἐμφέρειαν μηδεὶς εἰκαζέτω σώματος χαρακτῆρι· οὔτε γὰρ ἀνθρωπόμορφος ὁ θεός, οὔτε [16] θεοειδὲς τὸ ἀνθρώπειον | σῶμα. ἡ δὲ εἰκὼν λέλεκται κατὰ τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγεμόνα νοῦν· πρὸς γὰρ ἕνα, τὸν τῶν ὅλων ἐκεῖνον ὡς ἂν ἀρχέτυπον, ὁ ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀπεικονίσθη, τρόπον τινὰ θεὸς ὢν τοῦ φέροντος καὶ ἀγαλματοφοροῦντος αὐτόν· ὃν γὰρ ἔχει λόγον ὁ μέγας ἡγεμὼν ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ κόσμῳ, τοῦτον ὡς ἔοικε καὶ ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ· ἀόρατός τε γάρ ἐστιν, αὐτὸς τὰ πάντα ὁρῶν, καὶ ἄδηλον ἔχει τὴν οὐσίαν, τὰς τῶν ἄλλων καταλαμβάνων· καὶ τέχναις καὶ ἐπιστήμαις πολυσχιδεῖς ἀνατέμνων ὁδούς, λεωφόρους ἁπάσας, διὰ γῆς ἔρχεται καὶ θαλάττης,

70 τὰ ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ φύσει διερευνώμενος· καὶ πάλιν πτηνὸς ἀρθείς, καὶ τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὰ τούτου παθήματα κατασκεψάμενος, ἀνωτέρω φέρεται πρὸς αἰθέρα καὶ τὰς οὐρανοῦ περιόδους, πλανήτων τε καὶ ἀπλανῶν χορείαις συμπεριποληθεὶς κατὰ τοὺς μουσικῆς τελείας νόμους, ἑπόμενος ἔρωτι σοφίας ποδηγετοῦντι, πᾶσαν τὴν αἰσθητὴν οὐσίαν ὑπερ-

71 κύψας, ἐνταῦθα ἐφίεται τῆς νοητῆς· καὶ ὧν εἶδεν

that preceded them, but inferior to the others, were the rest, namely land creatures and birds of the air.

XXIII. After all the rest, as I have said, Moses tells us that man was created after the image of God and after His likeness (Gen. i. 26). Right well does he say this, for nothing earth-born is more like God than man. Let no one represent the likeness as one to a bodily form ; for neither is God in human form, nor is the human body God-like. No, it is in respect of the Mind, the sovereign element of the soul, that the word " image " is used ; for after the pattern of a single Mind, even the Mind of the Universe as an archetype, the mind in each of those who successively came into being was moulded. It is in a fashion a god to him who carries and enshrines it as an object of reverence ; for the human mind evidently occupies a position in men precisely answering to that which the great Ruler occupies in all the world. It is invisible while itself seeing all things, and while comprehending the substances of others, it is as to its own substance unperceived ; and while it opens by arts and sciences roads branching in many directions, all of them great highways, it comes through land and sea investigating what either element contains. Again, when on soaring wing it has contemplated the atmosphere and all its phases, it is borne yet higher to the ether and the circuit of heaven, and is whirled round with the dances of planets and fixed stars, in accordance with the laws of perfect music, following that love of wisdom which guides its steps. And so, carrying its gaze beyond the confines of all substance discernible by sense, it comes to a point at which it reaches out after the intelligible world, and on descrying in that world

ἐνταῦθα αἰσθητῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τὰ παραδείγματα καὶ τὰς ἰδέας θεασάμενος, ὑπερβάλλοντα κάλλη, μέθῃ νηφαλίῳ κατασχεθεὶς ὥσπερ οἱ κορυβαντιῶντες ἐνθουσιᾷ, ἑτέρου γεμισθεὶς ἱμέρου καὶ πόθου βελτίονος, ὑφ᾽ οὗ πρὸς τὴν ἄκραν ἁψῖδα παραπεμφθεὶς τῶν νοητῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἰέναι δοκεῖ τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα· γλιχομένου δ᾽ ἰδεῖν, ἀθρόου φωτὸς ἄκρατοι καὶ ἀμιγεῖς αὐγαὶ χειμάρρου τρόπον ἐκχέονται, ὡς ταῖς μαρμαρυγαῖς τὸ τῆς διανοίας ὄμμα σκοτοδινιᾶν. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ οὐ σύμπασα εἰκὼν ἐμφερὴς ἀρχετύπῳ παραδείγματι, πολλαὶ δ᾽ εἰσὶν ἀνόμοιοι, προσεπεσημήνατο ἐπειπὼν[1] τῷ κατ᾽ εἰκόνα τὸ καθ᾽ ὁμοίωσιν, εἰς ἔμφασιν ἀκριβοῦς ἐκμαγείου τρανὸν τύπον ἔχοντος.

72 XXIV. Ἀπορήσειε δ᾽ ἄν τις οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ, τί δήποτε τὴν ἀνθρώπου μόνου γένεσιν οὐχ ἑνὶ δημιουργῷ καθάπερ τἆλλα ἀνέθηκεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡσανεὶ πλείοσιν· εἰσάγει γὰρ τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὅλων ταυτὶ λέγοντα· "ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ᾽ εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ᾽ ὁμοίωσιν." μὴ γὰρ χρεῖός ἐστιν, εἴποιμ᾽ ἄν, οὑτινοσοῦν, ᾧ πάντα ὑπήκοα; ἢ τὸν μὲν οὐρανὸν ἡνίκα ἐποίει καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλατταν, οὐδενὸς ἐδεήθη τοῦ συνεργήσοντος, ἄνθρωπον δὲ βραχὺ ζῷον οὕτως καὶ ἐπίκηρον οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν δίχα συμπράξεως ἑτέρων αὐτὸς ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ κατασκευάσασθαι; τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀληθεστάτην αἰτίαν θεὸν ἀνάγκη μόνον εἰδέναι, τὴν
73 δ᾽ εἰκότι στοχασμῷ πιθανὴν καὶ εὔλογον εἶναι
[17] δοκοῦσαν οὐκ ἀποκρυπτέον. | ἔστι δὲ ἥδε. τῶν

[1] Conj. Wendland for εἰπών.

[a] See App. p. 475.

sights of surpassing loveliness, even the patterns and the originals of the things of sense which it saw here, it is seized by a sober intoxication, like those filled with Corybantic frenzy, and is inspired, possessed by a longing far other than theirs and a nobler desire. Wafted by this to the topmost arch of the things perceptible to mind, it seems to be on its way to the Great King Himself; but, amid its longing to see Him, pure and untempered rays of concentrated light stream forth like a torrent, so that by its gleams the eye of the understanding is dazzled. And, since images do not always correspond to their archetype and pattern, but are in many instances unlike it, the writer further brought out his meaning by adding "after the likeness" to the words "after the image," thus showing that an accurate cast, bearing a clear impression, was intended.

XXIV. [a] One may not unfitly raise the question what reason there could be for his ascribing the creation in the case of man only not to one Creator as in the case of the rest but, as the words would suggest, to several. For he represents the Father of the universe as speaking thus, "Let us make man after our image and likeness." 'Can it be,' I would ask, 'that He to whom all things are subject, is in need of anyone whatever? Or can it be that when He made the heaven and the earth and the seas, he required no one to be his fellow-worker, yet was unable apart from the co-operation of others by His own unaided power to fashion a creature so puny and perishable as man?' The full truth about the cause of this it must needs be that God alone knows, but the cause which by probable conjecture seems plausible and reasonable we must not conceal. It

ὄντων τὰ μὲν οὔτ' ἀρετῆς οὔτε κακίας μετέχει, ὥσπερ φυτὰ καὶ ζῷα ἄλογα, τὰ μὲν ὅτι ἄψυχά τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀφαντάστῳ φύσει διοικεῖται, τὰ δ' ὅτι νοῦν καὶ λόγον ἐκτέτμηται· κακίας δὲ καὶ ἀρετῆς ὡς ἂν οἶκος νοῦς καὶ λόγος, ᾧ πεφύκασιν ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι· τὰ δ' αὖ μόνης κεκοινώνηκεν ἀρετῆς ἀμέτοχα πάσης ὄντα κακίας, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀστέρες· οὗτοι γὰρ ζῷά τε εἶναι λέγονται καὶ ζῷα νοερά, μᾶλλον δὲ νοῦς αὐτὸς ἕκαστος, ὅλος δι' ὅλων σπουδαῖος καὶ παντὸς ἀνεπίδεκτος κακοῦ· τὰ δὲ τῆς μικτῆς ἐστι φύσεως, ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ἐπιδέχεται τἀναντία, φρόνησιν καὶ ἀφροσύνην, σωφροσύνην καὶ ἀκολασίαν, ἀνδρείαν καὶ δειλίαν, δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀδικίαν, καὶ συνελόντι φράσαι ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακά,
74 καλὰ καὶ αἰσχρά, ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν. τῷ δὴ πάντων πατρὶ θεῷ τὰ μὲν σπουδαῖα δι' αὐτοῦ μόνου ποιεῖν οἰκειότατον ἦν ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν συγγενείας, τὰ δὲ ἀδιάφορα οὐκ ἀλλότριον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ταῦτα τῆς ἐχθρᾶς αὐτῷ κακίας ἀμοιρεῖ, τὰ δὲ μικτὰ τῇ μὲν οἰκεῖον τῇ δ' ἀνοίκειον, οἰκεῖον μὲν ἕνεκα τῆς ἀνακεκραμένης βελτίονος ἰδέας,
75 ἀνοίκειον δὲ ἕνεκα τῆς ἐναντίας καὶ χείρονος. διὰ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ μόνης τῆς ἀνθρώπου γενέσεώς φησιν ὅτι εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς "ποιήσωμεν," ὅπερ ἐμφαίνει συμπαράληψιν ἑτέρων ὡς ἂν συνεργῶν, ἵνα ταῖς μὲν ἀνεπιλήπτοις βουλαῖς τε καὶ πράξεσιν ἀν-

is this. Among existences some partake neither of virtue nor of vice, like plants and animals devoid of reason; the one sort because they are without animal life and furnished with a nature incapable of consciously receiving impressions; the other sort because from them mind and reason have been eliminated: for mind and reason are as it were the dwelling-place of vice and virtue, which are by nature constituted to make their abode in them. Others again have partnership with virtue only, and have no part or lot in vice. Such are the heavenly bodies; for these are said to be not only living creatures but living creatures endowed with mind, or rather each of them a mind in itself, excellent through and through and unsusceptible of any evil. Others are of mixed nature, as man, who is liable to contraries, wisdom and folly, self-mastery and licentiousness, courage and cowardice, justice and injustice, and (in a word) to things good and evil, fair and foul, to virtue and vice. Now it was most proper to God the universal Father to make those excellent things by Himself alone, because of their kinship to Him. To make those which are neither good nor bad was not alien to Him, since those too are free from vice which is hateful to Him. To make those of mixed nature was in one respect proper to Him, in another not so; proper, so far as the better principle which forms an ingredient in them is concerned, alien, in virtue of the contrary and worse principle. So we see why it is only in the instance of man's creation that we are told by Moses that God said "Let us make," an expression which plainly shows the taking with Him of others as fellow-workers. It is to the end that, when man orders his course aright, when his thoughts

θρώπου κατορθοῦντος ἐπιγράφηται θεὸς ὁ πάντων ἡγεμών, ταῖς δ' ἐναντίαις ἕτεροι τῶν ὑπηκόων· ἔδει γὰρ ἀναίτιον εἶναι κακοῦ τὸν πατέρα τοῖς ἐκγόνοις· κακὸν δ' ἡ κακία καὶ αἱ κατὰ κακίαν
76 ἐνέργειαι. πάνυ δὲ καλῶς, τὸ γένος ἄνθρωπον εἰπών, διέκρινε τὰ εἴδη φήσας ἄρρεν τε καὶ θῆλυ δεδημιουργῆσθαι, μήπω τῶν ἐν μέρει μορφὴν λαβόντων, ἐπειδὴ τὰ προσεχέστατα τῶν εἰδῶν ἐνυπάρχει τῷ γένει, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτρῳ διαφαίνεται τοῖς ὀξὺ καθορᾶν δυναμένοις.

77 [18] XXV. | Ἐπιζητήσειε δ' ἄν τις τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν ὕστατόν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως· ἐφ' ἅπασι γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὸν ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ πατήρ, ὥσπερ αἱ ἱεραὶ γραφαὶ μηνύουσιν, εἰργάσατο. λέγουσιν οὖν οἱ τοῖς νόμοις ἐπὶ πλέον ἐμβαθύναντες, καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα μετὰ πάσης ἐξετάσεως ἀκριβοῦντες, ὅτι τῆς αὑτοῦ συγγενείας μεταδοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρώπῳ τῆς λογικῆς, ἥτις ἀρίστη δωρεῶν ἦν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐφθόνησεν, ἀλλ' ὡς οἰκειοτάτῳ καὶ φιλτάτῳ ζῴῳ τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ πάντα προητοιμάσατο, βουληθεὶς γενόμενον αὐτὸν μηδενὸς ἀπορῆσαι τῶν πρός τε τὸ ζῆν καὶ τὸ εὖ ζῆν· ὧν τὸ μὲν παρασκευάζουσιν αἱ χορηγίαι καὶ ἀφθονίαι τῶν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν, τὸ δὲ ἡ θεωρία τῶν κατ' οὐρανόν, ἀφ' ἧς πληχθεὶς ὁ νοῦς ἔρωτα καὶ πόθον ἔσχε τῆς τούτων ἐπιστήμης· ὅθεν τὸ φιλοσοφίας ἀνεβλάστησε γένος, ὑφ' οὗ καίτοι θνητὸς ὢν ἄνθρωπος ἀπαθανατί-

and deeds are blameless, God the universal Ruler may be owned as their Source; while others from the number of His subordinates are held responsible for thoughts and deeds of a contrary sort: for it could not be that the Father should be the cause of an evil thing to His offspring: and vice and vicious activities are an evil thing. And when Moses had called the genus "man," quite admirably did he distinguish its species, adding that it had been created "male and female," and this though its individual members had not yet taken shape. For the primary species are in the genus to begin with, and reveal themselves as in a mirror to those who have the faculty of keen vision.

XXV. It is obvious to inquire why man comes last in the world's creation; for, as the sacred writings show, he was the last whom the Father and Maker fashioned. Those, then, who have studied more deeply than others the laws of Moses and who examine their contents with all possible minuteness, maintain that God, when He made man partaker of kinship with Himself in mind and reason best of all gifts, did not begrudge him the other gifts either, but made ready for him beforehand all things in the world, as for a living being dearest and closest to Himself, since it was His will that when man came into existence he should be at a loss for none of the means of living and of living well. The means of living are provided by the lavish supplies of all that makes for enjoyment; the means of living well by the contemplation of the heavenly existences, for smitten by their contemplation the mind conceives a love and longing for the knowledge of them. And from this philosophy took its rise, by which man, mortal though he be, is

78 ζεται. καθάπερ οὖν οἱ ἑστιάτορες οὐ πρότερον ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλοῦσιν, ἢ τὰ πρὸς εὐωχίαν πάντα εὐτρεπίσαι, καὶ οἱ τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ σκηνικοὺς τιθέντες, πρὶν συναγαγεῖν τοὺς θεατὰς εἴς τε τὰ θέατρα καὶ τὰ στάδια, εὐτρεπίζουσιν ἀγωνιστῶν καὶ θεαμάτων καὶ ἀκουσμάτων πλῆθος· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμών, οἷά τις ἀθλοθέτης καὶ ἑστιάτωρ, ἄνθρωπον καλεῖν μέλλων ἐπί τε εὐωχίαν καὶ θεωρίαν, τὰ εἰς ἑκάτερον εἶδος προευτρεπίσατο· ἵν' εἰς τὸν κόσμον εἰσελθὼν εὐθὺς εὕρῃ καὶ συμπόσιον καὶ θέατρον ἱερώτατον, τὸ μὲν ἁπάντων πλῆρες ὅσα γῆ καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ θάλαττα καὶ ἀὴρ φέρουσιν εἰς χρῆσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν, τὸ δὲ παντοίων θεαμάτων, ἃ καταπληκτικωτάτας μὲν ἔχει τὰς οὐσίας, καταπληκτικωτάτας δὲ τὰς ποιότητας, θαυμασιωτάτας δὲ τὰς κινήσεις καὶ χορείας, ἐν τάξεσιν ἡρμοσμέναις καὶ ἀριθμῶν ἀναλογίαις καὶ περιόδων συμφωνίαις· ἐν αἷς ἁπάσαις τὴν ἀρχέτυπον καὶ ἀληθῆ καὶ παραδειγματικὴν μουσικὴν οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτάνοι τις εἶναι λέγων, ἀφ' ἧς οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ἄνθρωποι, γραψάμενοι <ἐν> ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ψυχαῖς τὰς εἰκόνας ἀναγκαιοτάτην καὶ ὠφελιμωτάτην τέχνην τῷ βίῳ παρέδοσαν.

79 XXVI. Ἥδε μὲν αἰτία πρώτη, δι' ἣν ἄνθρωπος ἐφ' ἅπασι γεγενῆσθαι δοκεῖ· δευτέραν δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ λεκτέον. ἅμα τῇ πρώτῃ γενέσει τὰς εἰς τὸ ζῆν παρασκευὰς ἁπάσας εὗρεν ἄνθρωπος, εἰς διδασκαλίαν τῶν ἔπειτα, μόνον οὐκ ἄντικρυς βοώσης τῆς φύσεως, ὅτι, μιμούμενοι τὸν ἀρχηγέτην τοῦ γένους, ἀπόνως καὶ ἀταλαιπώρως ἐν

rendered immortal. Just as givers of a banquet, then, do not send out the summonses to supper till they have put everything in readiness for the feast; and those who provide gymnastic and scenic contests, before they gather the spectators into the theatre or the stadium, have in readiness a number of combatants and performers to charm both eye and ear; exactly in the same way the Ruler of all things, like some provider of contests or of a banquet, when about to invite man to the enjoyment of a feast and a great spectacle, made ready beforehand the material for both. He desired that on coming into the world man might at once find both a banquet and a most sacred display, the one full of all things that earth and rivers and sea and air bring forth for use and for enjoyment, the other of all sorts of spectacles, most impressive in their substance, most impressive in their qualities, and circling with most wondrous movements, in an order fitly determined always in accordance with proportion of numbers and harmony of revolutions. In all these one might rightly say that there was the real music, the original and model of all other, from which the men of subsequent ages, when they had painted the images in their own souls, handed down an art most vital and beneficial to human life.

XXVI. Such is the first reason for which apparently man was created after all things: but we must mention a second that is not improbable. Directly he came into existence man found there all provisions for life. This was for the instruction of future generations. Nature seemed almost to cry aloud in so many words that like the first father of the race they were to spend their days without toil or trouble sur-

ἀφθονωτάτη τῶν ἀναγκαίων εὐπορία διάξουσιν.
[19] τουτὶ δὲ συμβήσεται, | ἐὰν μήτε αἱ ἄλογοι ἡδοναὶ ψυχῆς δυναστεύσωσι, γαστριμαργίαν καὶ λαγνείαν ἐπιτειχίσασαι, μήτε αἱ δόξης ἢ χρημάτων ἢ ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμίαι τὸ τοῦ βίου κράτος ἀνάψωνται, μήτε στείλωσι καὶ κάμψωσι διάνοιαν αἱ λῦπαι, μήθ᾿ ὁ κακὸς σύμβουλος φόβος τὰς ἐπὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα τῶν ἔργων ὁρμὰς ἀναχαιτίσῃ, μήτ᾿ ἀφροσύνη καὶ δειλία καὶ ἀδικία καὶ τὸ τῶν ἄλλων κακιῶν ἀμήχανον
80 πλῆθος ἐπιθῆται. νυνὶ μὲν γὰρ πάντων ὅσα λέλεκται παρευημερησάντων, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνέδην ἐκκεχυμένων εἴς τε τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰς ἀκράτορας καὶ ὑπαιτίους ἃς οὐδ᾿ εἰπεῖν θέμις ὀρέξεις, ἀπαντᾶται δίκη προσήκουσα τιμωρὸς ἀσεβῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων· ἔστι δ᾿ ἡ δίκη τὸ τῶν ἀναγκαίων δυσπόριστον· μόλις γὰρ ἀνατέμνοντες τὴν πεδιάδα, καὶ πηγῶν ῥεῖθρα καὶ ποταμῶν ἐποχετεύοντες, σπείροντές τε καὶ φυτεύοντες, καὶ τὸν γεωπόνων κάματον μεθ᾿ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ἀτρύτως ἐκδεχόμενοι δι᾿ ἔτους, συγκομίζουσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ ταῦτ᾿ ἔστιν ὅτε λυπρὰ καὶ οὐ πάνυ διαρκῆ διὰ πολλὰς βλαβέντα αἰτίας· ἢ γὰρ ὄμβρων ἐπαλλήλων φοραὶ κατέσυραν, ἢ χαλάζης βάρος ἐπενεχθείσης ἀθρόως κατέκλασεν, ἢ χιὼν περιέψυξεν, ἢ βία πνευμάτων ῥίζαις αὐταῖς ἀνέτρεψε· πολλὰ γὰρ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀὴρ εἰς ἀγονίαν καρπῶν νεωτερίζουσιν.
81 εἰ δὲ σωφροσύνῃ μὲν ἐξευμαρισθεῖεν αἱ ἄμετροι τῶν παθῶν ὁρμαί, δικαιοσύνῃ δὲ αἱ περὶ τἀδικεῖν σπουδαί τε καὶ φιλοτιμίαι, καί, συνελόντι φράσαι, ταῖς ἀρεταῖς καὶ ταῖς κατ᾿ ἀρετὰς ἐνεργείαις αἱ

[a] See App. pp. 475, 476.

rounded by lavish abundance of all that they needed. And this will be so if irrational pleasures do not get control of the soul, making their assaults upon it through greediness and lust, nor the desires for glory or wealth or power arrogate to themselves the control of the life, nor sorrows lower and depress the mind; and if fear, that evil counsellor, do not dispel high impulses to noble deeds, nor folly and cowardice and injustice and the countless host of other vices assail him. For in sooth as things now are, when all these evils which have been recounted have won the day, and men have flung themselves unrestrainedly into the indulgence of their passions and left uncontrolled their guilty cravings, cravings which it were sinful even to name, a fitting penalty is incurred, due punishment of impious courses. That penalty is difficulty in obtaining the necessaries of life. For men plough the prairie and irrigate it from spring and river; they sow and plant; and through the livelong year [a] unweariedly take up by day and night the ever renewed toil of the tiller of the earth; and yet they are hard put to it to gather in their requisite supplies, and these at times of poor quality and barely sufficient, having suffered injury from many causes: either they were ravaged by recurring rainfalls, or beaten down in masses by the weight of hail that fell on them, or half frozen by snow, or torn up roots and all by violent winds; for water and air can in many ways change the fruitfulness of crops into barrenness. But if the unmeasured impulses of men's passions were calmed and allayed by self-mastery, and their earnestness and eager striving after the infliction of wrongs were checked by righteousness; if, in a word, the vices and the fruitless

κακίαι καὶ αἱ κατ᾽ αὐτὰς ἀνήνυτοι πράξεις, ἀνῃρημένου μὲν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ κατὰ ψυχήν, ὃς ἀψευδῶς ἐστι πολέμων ἀργαλεώτατος καὶ βαρύτατος, εἰρήνης δ᾽ ἐπισχούσης, καὶ ταῖς ἐν ἡμῖν δυνάμεσιν εὐνομίαν παρασκευαζούσης ἡσυχῇ τε καὶ πρᾴως, ἐλπὶς ἂν ἦν τὸν θεόν, ἅτε φιλάρετον καὶ φιλόκαλον καὶ προσέτι φιλάνθρωπον, τἀγαθὰ αὐτόματα παρασχεῖν ἐξ ἑτοίμου τῷ γένει· δῆλον γὰρ ὡς εὐμαρέστερον τοῦ τὰ μὴ ὄντα εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγεῖν τὸ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὄντων φορὰν ἄνευ τέχνης γεωργικῆς ἐπιδαψιλεύσασθαι.

82 XXVII. Δευτέρα μὲν αἰτία ἥδε λελέχθω, τρίτη δ᾽ ἐστὶ τοιάδε. ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος τῶν γεγονότων ὁ θεὸς ἁρμόσασθαι διανοηθεὶς ὡς ἀναγκαῖα καὶ φίλτατα, ἀρχὴν μὲν οὐρανὸν ἐποίει, τέλος δὲ ἄνθρωπον, τὸν μὲν τῶν ἐν αἰσθητοῖς ἀφθάρτων τελειότατον, τὸν δὲ τῶν γηγενῶν καὶ φθαρτῶν [20] ἄριστον, βραχύν, | εἰ δεῖ τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, οὐρανόν, πολλὰς ἐν αὐτῷ φύσεις ἀστεροειδεῖς ἀγαλματοφοροῦντα, τέχναις καὶ ἐπιστήμαις καὶ τοῖς καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἀρετὴν ἀοιδίμοις θεωρήμασιν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐναντία φύσει τό τε φθαρτὸν καὶ τὸ ἄφθαρτον, εἴδους ἑκατέρου τὸ κάλλιστον ἀρχῇ καὶ τέλει προσένειμεν, ἀρχῇ μὲν οὐρανόν, ὡς ἐλέχθη, τέλει δὲ ἄνθρωπον.

83 XXVIII. Ἐπὶ πᾶσι μέντοι κἀκεῖνο λέγεται πρὸς ἀπόδοσιν αἰτίας ἀναγκαίας· ἔδει, πάντων γεγο-

practices to which they prompt were to give place to the virtues and their corresponding activities, the warfare in the soul, of all wars veritably the most dire and most grievous, would have been abolished, and peace would prevail and would in quiet and gentle ways provide good order for the exercise of our faculties, and there would be hope that God, being the Lover of virtue and the Lover of what is good and beautiful and also the Lover of man, would provide for our race good things all coming forth spontaneously and all in readiness. For it is clear that it is easier without calling in the husbandman's art to supply in abundance the yield of growths already existing than to bring into being things that were non-existent.

XXVII. Let what has been said suffice for an account of the second reason. A third is this. God, being minded to unite in intimate and loving fellowship the beginning and end of created things, made heaven the beginning and man the end, the one the most perfect of imperishable objects of sense, the other the noblest of things earthborn and perishable, being, in very truth, a miniature heaven. He bears about within himself, like holy images, endowments of nature that correspond to the constellations. He has capacities for science and art, for knowledge, and for the noble lore of the several virtues. For since the corruptible and the incorruptible are by nature contrary the one to the other, God assigned the fairest of each sort to the beginning and the end, heaven (as I have said) to the beginning, and man to the end.

XXVIII. Finally, this is suggested as a cogent reason. Man was bound to arise after all created

νότων, ὕστατον φῦναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἵνα τελευταῖος ἐξαπιναίως τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις ἐπιφανεὶς ἐμποιήσῃ κατάπληξιν· ἔμελλε γὰρ ἰδόντα πρῶτον τεθηπέναι καὶ προσκυνεῖν ὡς ἂν ἡγεμόνα φύσει καὶ δεσπότην· διὸ καὶ θεασάμενα πάντα διὰ πάντων ἡμερώθη, καὶ ὅσα τὰς φύσεις ἀγριώτατα κατὰ τὴν πρώτην εὐθὺς πρόσοψιν ἐγίνετο χειροηθέστατα, τὰς μὲν ἀτιθάσους λύττας ἐπιδεικνύμενα κατ᾽ ἀλλήλων,
84 εἰς δὲ μόνον τὸν ἄνθρωπον τιθασευόμενα. παρ᾽ ἣν αἰτίαν καὶ γεννήσας αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἡγεμονικὸν φύσει ζῷον, οὐκ ἔργῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ διὰ λόγου χειροτονίᾳ καθίστη τῶν ὑπὸ σελήνην ἁπάντων βασιλέα χερσαίων καὶ ἐνύδρων καὶ ἀεροπόρων· ὅσα γὰρ θνητὰ ἐν τοῖς τρισὶ στοιχείοις, γῇ, ὕδατι, ἀέρι, πάντα ὑπέταττεν αὐτῷ, τὰ κατ᾽ οὐρανὸν ὑπεξελόμενος, ἅτε θειοτέρας μοίρας ἐπιλαχόντα. πίστις δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐναργεστάτη τὰ φαινόμενα· θρεμμάτων ἔστιν ὅτε πλήθη μυρία πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἑνὸς ἄγεται τοῦ τυχόντος, οὔθ᾽ ὁπλοφοροῦντος οὔτε σίδηρον οὔτε τι τῶν ἀμυντηρίων ἐπιφερομένου, διφθέραν δ᾽ αὐτὸ μόνον ἔχοντος σκεπαστήριον καὶ βακτηρίαν ἕνεκα τοῦ διασημῆναί τε
85 καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις εἰ κάμοι στηρίσασθαι· τὰς γοῦν πολυζῴους ἀγέλας προβάτων, αἰγῶν, βοῶν, ἄγει ποιμὴν αἰπόλος βουκόλος, ἄνθρωποι μηδὲ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐρρωμένοι καὶ σφριγῶντες, ὡς ἕνεκα γοῦν εὐεξίας ἐμποιῆσαι τοῖς ἰδοῦσι κατάπληξιν· καὶ αἱ τοσαῦται τῶν τοσούτων ἀλκαί τε καὶ δυνάμεις εὐοπλούντων—ἔχουσι γὰρ τὰς ἐκ φύσεως

things, in order that coming last and suddenly appearing to the other animals he might produce consternation in them ; for they were sure, as soon as they saw him, to be amazed and do homage to him as to a born ruler or master : and so on beholding him they were all tamed through all their kinds, those who were most savage in their natures at the first sight of him becoming at once most manageable, displaying their untamed pugnacity one against another, but to man and man alone showing gentleness and docility. On this account too the Father, when he had brought him into existence as a living being naturally adapted for sovereignty, not only in fact but by express mandate appointed him king of all creatures under the moon, those that move on land and swim in the sea and fly in the air. For all things mortal in the three elements of land and water and air did He make subject to men, but exempted the heavenly beings as having obtained a portion more divine. The clearest proof of man's rule is afforded by what goes on before our eyes. Sometimes vast numbers of cattle are led by one quite ordinary man neither wearing armour nor carrying an iron weapon nor anything with which to defend himself, with nothing but a sheepskin to cover him and a staff wherewith to show them which way to go and to lean on should he grow weary on his journeys. See, there is a shepherd, a goatherd, a cowherd leading flocks of sheep and goats, and herds of kine. They are men not even strong and lusty in body, unlikely, so far as healthy vigour goes, to create consternation in those who see them. And all the prowess and strength of all those well-armed animals, who possess the equipment which nature provides

παρασκευὰς αἷς ἀμύνονται—καθάπερ δοῦλοι δεσπότην κατεπτήχασι, καὶ τὰ προσταττόμενα δρῶσι· ταῦροι μὲν καταζεύγνυνται πρὸς ἄροτον γῆς, καὶ βαθείας αὔλακας ἀνατέμνοντες δι' ἡμέρας, ἔστι δ' ὅτε <καὶ νυκτός>, μακρὸν δόλιχον ἀποτείνουσι, γεωπόνου τινὸς ἐφεστῶτος· κριοὶ δὲ βρίθοντες βαθέσι μαλλοῖς, ὑπόποκοι κατὰ τὴν ἔαρος ὥραν, ὑπὸ ποιμένος κελευσθέντες ἵστανται μετ' ἠρεμίας, ἢ καὶ ἡσυχῇ κατακλινέντες ἐμπαρέχουσιν ἀποκείρασθαι, τὸ ἔριον ἐθιζόμενοι καθάπερ αἱ πόλεις
[21] τὸν ἐτήσιον ἀποδιδόναι | δασμὸν τῷ φύσει βασιλεῖ·
86 καὶ μὴν τό γε θυμικώτατον ζῷον ἵππος ῥᾳδίως [ἄγεται] χαλιναγωγηθείς, ἵνα μὴ σκιρτῶν ἀφηνιάζῃ, καί, τὰ νῶτα κοιλάνας εὖ μάλα πρὸς τὸ εὔεδρον, δέχεται τὸν ἔποχον, καὶ μετέωρον ἀναβαστάσας ὀξύτατα θεῖ σπουδάζων, εἰς οὓς ἂν ἐπείγηται γίνεσθαι τόπους ἐκεῖνος, ἀφικνεῖσθαι καὶ διακομίζειν· ὁ δ' ἐφιδρυμένος ἄνευ καμάτων κατὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἑτέρου σώματι καὶ ποσὶν ἀνύτει τὸν δρόμον.

87 XXIX. Πολλὰ δ' ἂν ἔχοι τις λέγειν ἕτερα, βουλόμενος ἀπομηκύνειν, εἰς ἔνδειξιν τοῦ μηδὲν ἀπελευθεριάζειν ὑπεξῃρημένον τῆς ἀνθρώπου ἡγεμονίας· δείγματος δ' ἕνεκα καὶ τὰ ῥηθέντα ἀρκεῖ. χρὴ μέντοι μηδ' ἐκεῖνο ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι οὐ παρ' ὅσον ὕστατον γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος διὰ τὴν τάξιν ἠλάτ-
88 τωται. μάρτυρες δ' ἡνίοχοι καὶ κυβερνῆται· οἱ μὲν γάρ, ὑστερίζοντες τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ κατόπιν αὐτῶν ἐξεταζόμενοι, ᾗ ἂν ἐθέλωσιν αὐτὰ ἄγουσι, τῶν ἡνιῶν ἐνειλημμένοι, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἐφιέντες πρὸς

and use it in self-defence, cower before him like slaves before a master, and do his bidding. Bulls are harnessed to plough the land, and cutting deep furrows all day long, sometimes all night as well, accomplish a long bout with some farm-hand to direct them: rams laden with thick fleeces of wool, when spring-time comes, stand peacefully or even lie down quietly at the shepherd's bidding, and offer their wool to the shears, growing accustomed, just as cities do, to render their yearly tribute to him whom nature has given them for king. Nay, even the horse, most spirited of all animals, is easily controlled by the bit to prevent his growing restive and running away. He hollows his back, making it a convenient seat, takes his rider on it and bearing him aloft gallops at a great pace intent on bringing himself and his rider to the destination which the latter is eager to reach. As for his rider, firmly seated on him, without trouble and in much composure, he gets through his journey using the body and feet of another.

XXIX. Anyone who wished to enlarge on the subject would have plenty more to say tending to prove that nothing whatever has been emancipated and withdrawn from the domination of men: this is sufficiently indicated by what has been said. There is a point, however, as to which ignorance must be avoided. The fact of having been the last to come into existence does not involve an inferiority corresponding to his place in the series. Drivers and pilots are evidence of this. The former, though they come after their team and have their appointed place behind them, keep hold of the reins and drive them just as they wish, now letting them fall into a

ὀξὺν δρόμον, τοτὲ δ᾽ ἀναχαιτίζοντες, εἰ φορᾷ τοῦ δέοντος πλείονι θέοι· οἱ δ᾽ αὖ κυβερνῆται, πρὸς τὸ τῆς νεὼς ἔσχατον χωρίον πρύμναν παρελθόντες, πάντων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν εἰσιν ἄριστοι τῶν ἐμπλεόντων, ἅτε τῆς νεὼς καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐν χερσὶ ταῖς αὑτῶν ἔχοντες. ἡνίοχον δή τινα καὶ κυβερνήτην ἐφ᾽ ἅπασιν ὁ ποιητὴς ἐδημιούργει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἵνα ἡνιοχῇ καὶ κυβερνᾷ τὰ περίγεια, ζῴων καὶ φυτῶν λαβὼν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, οἷά τις ὕπαρχος τοῦ πρώτου καὶ μεγάλου βασιλέως.

89 XXX. Ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος ἐτελειώθη κατὰ τὴν ἑξάδος ἀριθμοῦ τελείου φύσιν, τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἑβδόμην ἐσέμνυνεν ὁ πατήρ, ἐπαινέσας καὶ ἁγίαν προσειπών· ἑορτὴ γὰρ οὐ μιᾶς πόλεως ἢ χώρας ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ τοῦ παντός, ἣν κυρίως ἄξιον καὶ μόνην πάνδημον ὀνομάζειν καὶ τοῦ κόσμου
90 γενέθλιον. τὴν δ᾽ ἑβδομάδος φύσιν οὐκ οἶδ᾽ εἴ τις ἱκανῶς ἂν ὑμνῆσαι δύναιτο, παντὸς οὖσαν λόγου κρείττονα· οὐ μὴν ὅτι θαυμασιωτέρα τῶν περὶ αὐτῆς λεγομένων ἐστί, διὰ τοῦθ᾽ ἡσυχαστέον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιτολμητέον, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα μηδὲ τὰ κυριώτατα οἷόν τε, τὰ γοῦν ταῖς ἡμετέραις δια-
91 νοίαις ἐφικτὰ δηλῶσαι. διχῶς ἑβδομὰς λέγεται, ἡ μὲν ἐντὸς δεκάδος, ἥτις ἑπτάκις μονάδι μόνῃ μετρεῖται, συνεστῶσα ἐκ μονάδων ἑπτά· ἡ δ᾽ ἐκτὸς δεκάδος, ἀριθμὸς οὗ πάντως ἀρχὴ μονάς, κατὰ τοὺς διπλασίους ἢ τριπλασίους ἢ συνόλως ἀνα-

sharp trot, now pulling them up should they go with more speed than is necessary. Pilots again, taking their way to the stern, the hindmost place in the ship, are, one may say, superior to all on board, for they hold in their hands the safety of the ship and those on board it. So the Creator made man after all things, as a sort of driver and pilot, to drive and steer the things on earth, and charged him with the care of animals and plants, like a governor subordinate to the chief and great King.

XXX. Now when the whole world had been brought to completion in accordance with the properties of six, a perfect number, the Father invested with dignity the seventh day which comes next, extolling it and pronouncing it holy ; for it is the festival, not of a single city or country, but of the universe, and it alone strictly deserves to be called "public" as belonging to all people and the birthday of the world. I doubt whether anyone could adequately celebrate the properties of the number 7, for they are beyond all words. Yet the fact that it is more wondrous than all that is said about it is no reason for maintaining silence regarding it. Nay, we must make a brave attempt to bring out at least all that is within the compass of our understandings, even if it be impossible to bring out all or even the most essential points. Now, 7 or 7th is a term used in two different senses. There is the 7 inside the number 10. This consists of 7 units, and is determined by the sevenfold repetition of the unit. There is the 7 outside the number 10. This is a number starting throughout from the number 1 and formed by doubling it and going on doubling (7 times) or trebling, or multiplying by any other number in regular pro-

λογοῦντας ἀριθμούς, ὡς ἔχει ὁ ἑξηκοντατέσσαρα |
[22] καὶ ὁ ἑπτακόσια εἰκοσιεννέα, ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὸν ἀπὸ
μονάδος διπλάσιον παραυξηθείς, ὁ δ' αὖ κατὰ τὸν
τριπλάσιον. ἑκάτερον δὲ εἶδος οὐ παρέργως ἐπι-
92 σκεπτέον. τὸ μὲν δὴ δεύτερον ἐμφανεστάτην ἔχει
προνομίαν· αἰεὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀπὸ μονάδος συντιθέμενος
ἐν διπλασίοις ἢ τριπλασίοις ἢ συνόλως ἀνα-
λογοῦσιν ἕβδομος ἀριθμὸς κύβος τε καὶ τετράγωνός
ἐστιν, ἀμφότερα τὰ εἴδη περιέχων τῆς τε ἀσωμάτου
καὶ σωματικῆς οὐσίας, τῆς μὲν ἀσωμάτου κατὰ
τὴν ἐπίπεδον ἣν ἀποτελοῦσι τετράγωνοι, τῆς δὲ
σωματικῆς κατὰ τὴν στερεὰν ἣν ἀποτελοῦσι κύβοι.
93 σαφεστάτη δ' οἱ λεχθέντες ἀριθμοὶ πίστις· αὐτίκα
ὁ ἀπὸ μονάδος ἐν διπλασίονι λόγῳ παραυξηθεὶς
ἕβδομος, ὁ τέσσαρα καὶ ἑξήκοντα, τετράγωνος μέν
ἐστιν ὀκτάκις ὀκτὼ πολυπλασιασθέντων, κύβος δὲ
τεσσάρων ἐπὶ τέσσαρα τετράκις· καὶ πάλιν ὁ ἐν
τριπλασίονι λόγῳ παραυξηθεὶς ἀπὸ μονάδος ἕβ-
δομος, ὁ ἑπτακόσια εἰκοσιεννέα, τετράγωνος μὲν
πολυπλασιασθέντος ἐφ' αὑτὸν τοῦ ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι,
94 κύβος δὲ τοῦ ἐννέα ἐφ' αὑτὸν ἐννάκις. καὶ ἀεί,
τὸν ἕβδομον ποιούμενός τις ἀντὶ μονάδος ἀρχήν,
καὶ παραύξων κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναλογίαν ἄχρις
ἑβδομάδος, εὑρήσει πάντως τὸν παραυξηθέντα
κύβον τε καὶ τετράγωνον· ἀπὸ γοῦν τοῦ ἑξηκοντα-
τέσσαρα ὁ συντεθεὶς ἐν διπλασίονι λόγῳ γεννήσει
ἕβδομον τὸν τετρακισχίλια καὶ ἐνενηκονταέξ, τετρά-
γωνον ὁμοῦ καὶ κύβον, τετράγωνον μὲν αὐτὸν
πλευρὰν ἔχοντα τὸν ἑξηκοντατέσσαρα, κύβον δὲ
τὸν ἑκκαίδεκα.

95 XXXI. Μεταβατέον δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ θάτερον ἑβδο-
μάδος εἶδος τὸ περιεχόμενον ἐν δεκάδι, θαυμαστὴν

gression: as, for example, the number 64 is the product of doubling from 1 onwards, and the number 729 that of trebling. Each of these forms claims more than casual notice. The second form, clearly has a very manifest superiority. For invariably the 7th term of any regular progression, starting from unity and with a ratio of 2, 3, or any other number, is both a cube and a square, embracing both forms, that of the incorporeal and that of the corporeal substance, the form of the incorporeal answering to the surface which is formed by squares, that of the corporeal answering to the solid which is formed by cubes. The plainest evidence of this are the numbers already mentioned: for instance, the 7th from 1 reached by going on doubling, *i.e.* 64, is a square, being 8 times 8, and a cube, being 4 times 4, again multiplied by 4: and again the 7th from 1 reached by progressive trebling, 729, is a square, being the product of 27 multiplied by itself, and the cube of 9, *i.e.* 9 times 9, again multiplied by 9. And invariably if one takes the 7th number for his starting-point instead of the unit, and multiplies in corresponding fashion up to a (fresh) 7th, he is sure to find the product both a cube and a square: for instance starting from 64 the number formed by continuous doubling will give us seventh 4096. This is at once a square and a cube—a square with 64 as its side and a cube with 16.

XXXI. We must pass on to the other kind of 7th, that which is contained within the decade. It

ἐπιδεικνύμενον καὶ οὐκ ἐλάττονα τοῦ προτέρου φύσιν. αὐτίκα συνέστηκε τὰ ἑπτὰ ἐξ ἑνὸς καὶ δυοῖν καὶ τεττάρων ἐχόντων δύο λόγους ἁρμονικωτάτους, τόν τε διπλάσιον καὶ τετραπλάσιον, τὸν μὲν τὴν διὰ πασῶν συμφωνίαν, τὸν δὲ τετραπλάσιον τὴν δὶς διὰ πασῶν ἀποτελοῦντα. περιέχει δὲ καὶ διαιρέσεις ἄλλας, ζυγάδην τρόπον τινὰ συνεστώσας, ἑβδομάς· διαιρεῖται γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς μονάδα καὶ ἑξάδα, ἔπειτα εἰς δυάδα καὶ πεντάδα, καὶ τελευταῖον εἰς τριάδα καὶ τετράδα.

96 μουσικωτάτη δὲ καὶ ἡ τούτων ἀναλογία τῶν ἀριθμῶν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἓξ πρὸς ἓν ἔχει λόγον ἑξαπλάσιον, ὁ δ' ἑξαπλάσιος λόγος τὸ μέγιστον ἐν τοῖς οὖσι ποιεῖ διάστημα, ᾧ διέστηκε τὸ ὀξύτατον ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρυτάτου, καθάπερ ἀποδείξομεν, ὅταν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριθμῶν μετέλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν ἁρμονίαις λόγον· τὰ δὲ πέντε πρὸς δύο πλείστην ἐν ἁρμονίᾳ δύναμιν ἐπιδείκνυται, σχεδὸν ἐνάμιλλον τῇ διὰ πασῶν, ὅπερ ἐν τῇ κανονικῇ θεωρίᾳ σαφέστατα
[23] παρίσταται· τὰ δὲ τέσσαρα πρὸς τρία | τὴν πρώτην ἁρμονίαν ἀποτελεῖ, τὴν ἐπίτριτον, ἥτις ἐστὶ διὰ
97 τεσσάρων. XXXII. ἐπιδείκνυται δὲ καὶ ἕτερον κάλλος αὐτῆς ἑβδομὰς ἱερώτατον νοηθῆναι. συνεστῶσα γὰρ ἐκ τριάδος καὶ τετράδος, τὸ ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἀκλινὲς καὶ ὀρθὸν φύσει παρέχεται· ὃν δὲ τρόπον, δηλωτέον. τὸ ὀρθογώνιον τρίγωνον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ ποιοτήτων, ἐξ ἀριθμῶν συνέστηκε τοῦ τρία καὶ τέσσαρα καὶ πέντε· τὰ δὲ τρία καὶ τέσσαρα, ἅπερ ἐστὶν ἑβδομάδος οὐσία, τὴν ὀρθὴν γωνίαν ἀποτελεῖ· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀμβλεῖα καὶ ὀξεῖα τὸ ἀνώμαλον καὶ ἄτακτον καὶ ἄνισον ἐμφαίνουσιν· ἀμβλυτέρα γὰρ καὶ ὀξυτέρα γίνεται ἑτέρα ἑτέρας·

exhibits a marvellous nature, not at all inferior to that of the former kind. For instance 7 consists of 1 and 2 and 4, which have two relations making specially for harmony, the twofold and the fourfold, the one producing the diapason harmony, while the fourfold relation produces double diapason.[a] 7 admits of other divisions besides these, in pairs like animals under a yoke. It is divided first into 1 and 6, then into 2 and 5, and last of all into 3 and 4. Most musical is the proportion of these numbers also: for 6 to 1 is a sixfold proportion, but the sixfold proportion makes the greatest distance that there is (in music), the distance from the highest to the lowest note, as we shall prove, when we pass from numbers to the proportion in harmonies. 5 : 2 exhibits the fullest power in harmonies, all but rivalling the diapason, a fact which is most clearly established in theoretical music. 4 : 3 yields the first harmony, the sesquitertian or diatessaron. XXXII. 7 (or "7th") exhibits yet another beauty belonging to it, a most sacred object for our mind to ponder. Being made up as it is of 3 and 4 it is a presentation of all that is naturally steadfast and upright in the universe. How it is this, we must point out. The right-angled triangle, the starting-point of figures of a definite shape, is made up of certain numbers, namely 3 and 4 and 5: 3 and 4, the constituent parts of 7, produce the right angle: for the obtuse and acute angle are manifestations of irregularity and disorder and inequality: for one such angle can be more obtuse or more acute than another: whereas one right angle

[a] See *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, article "Musica."

ὀρθὴ δ' οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται σύγκρισιν, οὐδ' ὀρθοτέρα γίνεται παρ' ἑτέραν, ἀλλ' ἐν ὁμοίῳ μένει, τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν οὔποτ' ἀλλάττουσα. εἰ δὴ τὸ μὲν ὀρθογώνιον τρίγωνον σχημάτων καὶ ποιοτήτων ἐστὶν ἀρχή, τούτου δὲ τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον, τὴν ὀρθὴν γωνίαν, ἡ οὐσία τῆς ἑβδομάδος παρέχεται, τριὰς ὁμοῦ καὶ τετράς, νομίζοιτ' ἂν εἰκότως ἥδε πηγὴ παντὸς σχήματος καὶ πάσης ποιότητος.

98 πρὸς δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις κἀκεῖνο λέγοιτ' ἂν δεόντως, ὅτι τὰ μὲν τρία ἐπιπέδου σχήματός ἐστιν ἀριθμός—ἐπειδὴ σημεῖον μὲν κατὰ μονάδα, γραμμὴ δὲ κατὰ δυάδα, ἐπίπεδον δὲ κατὰ τριάδα τέτακται—τὰ δὲ τέσσαρα στερεοῦ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς πρόσθεσιν, βάθους ἐπιπέδῳ προστεθέντος· ἐξ οὗ δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι ἡ τῆς ἑβδομάδος οὐσία γεωμετρίας καὶ στερεομετρίας ἀρχὴ καί, συνελόντι φράσαι, ἀσωμάτων ὁμοῦ καὶ σωμάτων.

99 XXXIII. Τοσοῦτο δ' ἐν ἑβδομάδι πέφυκεν εἶναι τὸ ἱεροπρεπές, ὥστ' ἐξαίρετον ἔχει λόγον παρὰ τοὺς ἐν δεκάδι πάντας ἀριθμούς· ἐκείνων γὰρ οἱ μὲν γεννῶσιν οὐ γεννώμενοι, οἱ δὲ γεννῶνται μέν, οὐ γεννῶσι δέ, οἱ δὲ ἀμφότερα καὶ γεννῶσι καὶ γεννῶνται· μόνη δ' ἑβδομὰς ἐν οὐδενὶ μέρει θεωρεῖται. τὴν δ' ὑπόσχεσιν ἀποδείξει βεβαιωτέον. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἓν γεννᾷ τοὺς ἑξῆς ἅπαντας ἀριθμοὺς ὑπ' οὐδενὸς γεννώμενον τὸ παράπαν· τὰ δ' ὀκτὼ γεννᾶται μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ δὶς τέσσαρα, γεννᾷ δ' οὐδένα τῶν ἐν δεκάδι· ὁ δ' αὖ τέσσαρα τὴν ἀμφοῖν καὶ γονέων καὶ ἐκγόνων ἔχει τάξιν· γεννᾷ μὲν γὰρ τὸν ὀκτὼ δὶς γενόμενος, γεννᾶται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δὶς

100 δύο. μόνος δ' ὡς ἔφην ὁ ἑπτὰ οὔτε γεννᾶν

[24] πέφυκεν οὔτε γεννᾶσθαι. δι' ἣν | αἰτίαν οἱ μὲν

does not admit of comparison with another, nor can it be more "right" than another, but remains as it is, never changing its proper nature. Now if the right-angled triangle is the starting-point of figures of a definite kind, and the essential factor in this triangle, namely the right angle, is supplied by the numbers which constitute 7, namely 3 and 4 together, 7 would reasonably be regarded as the fountain-head of every figure and every definite shape.

In addition to what we have already said we are bound to mention this further point, namely that 3 is the number belonging to a superficies—for a point falls under the head of 1, a line under that of 2, and a superficies of 3—while 4 belongs to a solid, by means of the addition of 1, depth being added to superficies. From this it is manifest that 7 is so constituted as to be the starting-point of all plane and solid geometry, or (to put it concisely) alike of things corporeal and incorporeal.

XXXIII. So august is the dignity inherent by nature in the number 7, that it has a unique relation distinguishing it from all the other numbers within the decade: for of these some beget without being begotten, some are begotten but do not beget, some do both these, both beget and are begotten: 7 alone is found in no such category. We must establish this assertion by giving proof of it. Well then, 1 begets all the subsequent numbers while it is begotten by none whatever: 8 is begotten by twice 4, but begets no number within the decade: 4 again holds the place of both, both of parents and of offspring; for it begets 8 by being doubled, and is begotten by twice 2. It is the nature of 7 alone, as I have said, neither to beget nor to be begotten. For this reason

ἄλλοι φιλόσοφοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον ἐξομοιοῦσι τῇ ἀμήτορι Νίκῃ καὶ Παρθένῳ, ἣν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς κεφαλῆς ἀναφανῆναι λόγος ἔχει, οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόρειοι τῷ ἡγεμόνι τῶν συμπάντων· τὸ γὰρ μήτε γεννῶν μήτε γεννώμενον ἀκίνητον μένει· ἐν κινήσει γὰρ ἡ γένεσις, ἐπεὶ <καὶ τὸ γεννῶν> καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον οὐκ ἄνευ κινήσεως, τὸ μὲν ἵνα γεννήσῃ, τὸ δὲ ἵνα γεννηθῇ· μόνον δ' οὔτε κινοῦν οὔτε κινούμενον ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἄρχων καὶ ἡγεμών, οὗ λέγοιτ' ἂν προσηκόντως εἰκὼν ἑβδομάς. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ καὶ Φιλόλαος ἐν τούτοις· "Ἔστι γάρ, φησίν, ἡγεμὼν καὶ ἄρχων ἁπάντων θεὸς εἷς ἀεὶ ὤν, μόνιμος, ἀκίνητος, αὐτὸς αὑτῷ ὅμοιος, ἕτερος τῶν ἄλλων."

101 XXXIV. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς νοητοῖς τὸ ἀκίνητον καὶ ἀπαθὲς ἐπιδείκνυται ἑβδομάς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς μεγάλην καὶ συνεκτικωτάτην δύναμιν, * * * οἷς τὰ ἐπίγεια πάντα πέφυκε βελτιοῦσθαι, σελήνης τε περιόδοις. ὃν δὲ τρόπον, ἐπισκεπτέον. ἀπὸ μονάδος συντεθεὶς ἑξῆς ὁ ἑπτὰ ἀριθμὸς γεννᾷ τὸν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι τέλειον καὶ τοῖς αὑτοῦ μέρεσιν ἰσούμενον· ὁ δὲ γεννηθεὶς ἀριθμὸς ἀποκαταστατικός ἐστι σελήνης, ἀφ' οὗ ἤρξατο σχήματος λαμβάνειν αὔξησιν αἰσθητῶς, εἰς ἐκεῖνο κατὰ μείωσιν ἀνακαμπτούσης· αὔξεται μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης μηνοειδοῦς ἐπιλάμψεως ἄχρι διχοτόμου ἡμέραις ἑπτά, εἶθ' ἑτέραις τοσαύταις πλησιφαὴς γίνεται, καὶ πάλιν ὑποστρέφει διαυλοδρομοῦσα τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς πλησιφαοῦς

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[a] Or "Sovereign of the Universe." Observe the sequel.

[b] A Pythagorean philosopher of the 5th century B.C.

[c] See App. p. 476.

other philosophers liken this number to the motherless and virgin Nikè, who is said to have appeared out of the head of Zeus, while the Pythagoreans liken it to the chief of all things [a]: for that which neither begets nor is begotten remains motionless; for creation takes place in movement, since there is movement both in that which begets and in that which is begotten, in the one that it may beget, in the other that it may be begotten. There is only one thing that neither causes motion nor experiences it, the original Ruler and Sovereign. Of Him 7 may be fitly said to be a symbol. Evidence of what I say is supplied by Philolaus [b] in these words: "There is, he says, a supreme Ruler of all things, God, ever One, abiding, without motion, Himself (alone) like unto Himself, different from all others."

XXXIV. In the region, then, of things discerned by the intellect only, 7 exhibits that which is exempt from movement and from passion; but in that of sensible things a most essential force [in the movements of the planets] from which all earthly things derive advantage, and in the circuits of the moon. How this is we must consider. Begin at 1 and add each number up to 7 and it produces 28. This is a perfect number and equal to the sum of its own factors.[c] And the number produced is the number which brings the moon back to her original form, as she retraces her course by lessening till she reaches the shape from which she began to make perceptible increase; for she increases from her first shining as a crescent till she becomes a half-moon in seven days, then in as many more she becomes full-moon, and again returns the same way like a runner in the double race-course, from the

ἐπὶ τὴν διχότομον ἑπτὰ πάλιν ἡμέραις, εἶτ᾿ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐπὶ τὴν μηνοειδῆ ταῖς ἴσαις· ἐξ ὧν ὁ λεχθεὶς ἀριθμὸς συμπεπλήρωται.

102 Καλεῖται δ᾿ ἡ ἑβδομὰς ὑπὸ τῶν κυρίως τοῖς ὀνόμασιν εἰωθότων χρῆσθαι καὶ τελεσφόρος, ἐπειδὴ ταύτῃ τελεσφορεῖται τὰ σύμπαντα. τεκμηριώσαιτο δ᾿ ἄν τις ἐκ τοῦ πᾶν σῶμα ὀργανικὸν τρισὶ μὲν κεχρῆσθαι διαστάσεσι, μήκει πλάτει καὶ βάθει, τέτταρσι δὲ πέρασι, σημείῳ καὶ γραμμῇ καὶ ἐπιφανείᾳ καὶ στερεῷ, δι᾿ ὧν συντεθέντων ἀποτελεῖται ἑβδομάς. ἀμήχανον δ᾿ ἦν τὰ σώματα ἑβδομάδι μετρεῖσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐκ διαστάσεων τριῶν καὶ περάτων τεττάρων σύνθεσιν, εἰ μὴ συνέβαινε τὰς τῶν πρώτων ἀριθμῶν ἰδέας ἑνὸς καὶ δυοῖν καὶ τριῶν καὶ τεττάρων, οἷς θεμελιοῦται δεκάς, ἑβδομάδος φύσιν περιέχειν· οἱ γὰρ λεχθέντες ἀριθμοὶ τέσσαρας μὲν ἔχουσιν ὅρους, τὸν πρῶτον, τὸν δεύτερον, τὸν τρίτον, τὸν τέταρτον, διαστάσεις
[25] δὲ τρεῖς· πρώτη μὲν διάστασις | ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνὸς ἐπὶ τὰ δύο, δευτέρα δὲ ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν δυοῖν ἐπὶ τὰ τρία, τρίτη δὲ ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἐπὶ τὰ τέσσαρα.

103 XXXV. Δίχα δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐναργέστατα παριστᾶσι τὴν τελεσφόρον δύναμιν ἑβδομάδος καὶ αἱ ἐκ βρέφους ἄχρι γήρως ἀνθρώπων ἡλικίαι μετρούμεναι ταύτῃ· κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν πρώτην ἑπταετίαν ἔκφυσις ὀδόντων ἐστί· κατὰ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν καιρὸς τοῦ δύνασθαι προΐεσθαι σπέρμα γόνιμον· τρίτῃ δὲ γενείων αὔξησις καὶ τετάρτῃ πρὸς ἰσχὺν ἐπίδοσις· πέμπτῃ δ᾿ αὖ γάμων ὥρα· ἕκτῃ δὲ συνέσεως ἀκμή· τῇ δὲ ἑβδόμῃ βελτίωσις ἀμφοῖν καὶ συναύξησις νοῦ καὶ λόγου· ὀγδόῃ δὲ ἡ ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τελείωσις· κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐνάτην

full to the half-moon in seven days as before, then from the half to the crescent in an equal number of days: these four sets of days complete the aforesaid number.

Now by those who are in the habit of giving words their proper force seven is called also "perfection-bringing," because by this all things in the material universe are brought to perfection. Proof of this may be derived from the circumstance that every organic body has three dimensions, length, breadth, and depth, and four limits, point, line, surface, and solid; by adding which together we get seven. It would have been impossible that bodies should be measured by seven in accordance with their formation out of the three dimensions and the four limits,[a] had it not been that the forms of the first numbers (1, 2, 3, and 4), the foundation of 10, already contained the nature of 7, for the numbers named have three intervals, that from 1 to 2, that from 2 to 3, and that from 3 to 4; and the four limits between which these intervals lie, 1, 2, 3, and 4.

XXXV. Beside the proofs already mentioned, the perfecting power of the number 7 is also shown by the stages of men's growth, measured from infancy to old age in the following manner: during the first period of seven years the growth of the teeth begins; during the second the capacity for emitting seed; in the third the growing of the beard; and in the fourth increase of strength; in the fifth again ripeness for marriage; in the sixth the understanding reaches its bloom; in the seventh progressive improvement and development of mind and reason; in the eighth the perfecting of both these; during the

[a] See App. p. 476.

ἐπιείκεια καὶ πρᾳότης τῶν παθῶν ἐπὶ πλέον ἡμερωθέντων· κατὰ δὲ τὴν δεκάτην τοῦ βίου τὸ εὐκταῖον τέλος, ἔτι τῶν ὀργανικῶν μελῶν συνεστηκότων· φιλεῖ γὰρ τὸ μακρὸν γῆρας ἕκαστον
104 ὑποσκελίζειν καὶ παραιρεῖσθαι. τὰς ἡλικίας ταύτας ἀνέγραψε καὶ Σόλων ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νομοθέτης ἐλεγεῖα ποιήσας τάδε·

Παῖς μὲν ἄνηβος ἐὼν ἔτι νήπιος ἕρκος ὀδόντων
  φύσας ἐκβάλλει πρῶτον ἐν ἕπτ' ἔτεσιν·
τοὺς δ' ἑτέρους ὅτε δὴ τελέσῃ θεὸς ἕπτ' ἐνιαυτούς,
  ἥβης ἐκφαίνει σήματα γιγνομένης·
τῇ τριτάτῃ δὲ γένειον ἀεξομένων ἔτι γυίων
  λαχνοῦται, χροιῆς ἄνθος ἀμειβομένης·
τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ πᾶς τις ἐν ἑβδομάδ' ἐστὶν ἄριστος
  ἰσχύν, ἥν τ' ἄνδρες σήματ' ἔχουσ' ἀρετῆς·
πέμπτῃ δ' ὥριον ἄνδρα γάμου μεμνημένον εἶναι
  καὶ παίδων ζητεῖν ἐξοπίσω γενεήν·
τῇ δ' ἕκτῃ περὶ πάντα καταρτύεται νόος ἀνδρός,
  οὐδ' ἔρδειν ἔθ' ὁμῶς ἔργ' ἀπάλαμνα θέλει·
ἑπτὰ δὲ νοῦν καὶ γλῶσσαν ἐν ἑβδομάσιν μέγ' ἄριστος
  ὀκτώ τ', ἀμφοτέρων τέσσαρα καὶ δέκ' ἔτη·
τῇ δ' ἐνάτῃ ἔτι μὴν δύναται, μαλακώτερα δ' αὐτοῦ
  πρὸς μεγάλην ἀρετὴν γλῶσσά τε καὶ σοφίη·
τὴν δεκάτην δ' εἴ τις τελέσας κατὰ μέτρον ἵκοιτο,
  οὐκ ἂν ἄωρος ἐὼν μοῖραν ἔχοι θανάτου.

105 XXXVI. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Σόλων ἑβδομάσι δέκα ταῖς εἰρημέναις καταριθμεῖ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον. ὁ δ' ἰατρὸς Ἱπποκράτης ἡλικίας ἑπτὰ εἶναί φησι,
[26] παιδίου, | παιδός, μειρακίου, νεανίσκου, ἀνδρός, πρεσβύτου, γέροντος, ταύτας δὲ μετρεῖσθαι μὲν

ninth forbearance and gentleness emerge, owing to the more complete taming of the passions; during the tenth comes the desirable end of life, while the bodily organs are still compact and firm; for prolonged old age is wont to abate and break down the force of each of them. These ages of men's life were described by Solon the lawgiver of the Athenians among others in the following lines:

In seven years the Boy, an infant yet unfledged,
Both grows and sheds the teeth with which his tongue is hedged.
When heaven has made complete a second week of years,
Of coming prime of youth full many a sign appears.
In life's third term, while still his limbs grow big apace,
His chin shows down; its early bloom now quits his face.
In the fourth heptad each one full of strength doth seem—
Strength, which of manly worth best earnest all men deem.
Let him in his fifth week of years a bride bespeak,
Offspring to bear his name hereafter let him seek.
The sixth beholds the man good sense all round attain;
Not now can reckless deeds as once his fancy gain.
Now see him seventh and eighth, fresh heptads, duly reach
In insight strongest now, strongest in power of speech.
In his ninth week of years, strong still but softer far
For high achievement's venture speech and wisdom are.
Then should the man, ten bouts complete, attain life's end
Fate, no untimely gift, death's call may fitly send.

XXXVI. Solon, then, reckons the life of man by the aforesaid ten weeks of years. And Hippocrates, the physician, says that there are seven ages, those of the little boy, the boy, the lad, the young man, the man, the elderly man, the old man, and that these

ἑβδομάσιν, οὐ μὴν ταῖς κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς. λέγει δ' οὕτως· " Ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει ἑπτά εἰσιν ὧραι, ἃς ἡλικίας καλέουσι, παιδίον, παῖς, μειράκιον, νεανίσκος, ἀνήρ, πρεσβύτης, γέρων· καὶ παιδίον μέν ἐστιν ἄχρις ἑπτὰ ἐτέων ὀδόντων ἐκβολῆς· παῖς δ' ἄχρι γονῆς ἐκφύσιος, ἐς τὰ δὶς ἑπτά· μειράκιον δ' ἄχρι γενείου λαχνώσιος, ἐς τὰ τρὶς ἑπτά· νεανίσκος δ' ἄχρις αὐξήσιος ὅλου τοῦ σώματος, ἐς τὰ τετράκις ἑπτά· ἀνὴρ δ' ἄχρις ἑνὸς δέοντος ἐτέων πεντήκοντα, ἐς τὰ ἑπτάκις ἑπτά· πρεσβύτης δ' ἄχρι πεντήκοντα ἕξ, ἐς τὰ ἑπτάκις ὀκτώ· τὸ δ' ἐντεῦθεν γέρων."

106 Λέγεται δὲ κἀκεῖνο πρὸς διασύστασιν ἑβδομάδος ὡς θαυμαστὴν ἐχούσης ἐν τῇ φύσει τάξιν, ἐπεὶ συνέστηκεν ἐκ τριῶν καὶ τεττάρων· τὸν μὲν τρίτον ἀπὸ μονάδος, εἰ διπλασιάζοι τις, εὑρήσει τετράγωνον, τὸν δὲ τέταρτον κύβον, τὸν δ' ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἕβδομον κύβον ὁμοῦ καὶ τετράγωνον· ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ μονάδος τρίτος ἐν διπλασίονι λόγῳ, <τέτταρα>, τετράγωνός ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ τέταρτος, ὀκτώ, κύβος, ὁ δὲ ἕβδομος, τέσσαρα πρὸς τοῖς ἑξήκοντα, κύβος ὁμοῦ καὶ τετράγωνος· ὡς εἶναι τελεσφόρον ὄντως τὸν ἕβδομον ἀριθμόν, ἀμφοτέρας τὰς ἰσότητας καταγγέλλοντα τήν τ' ἐπίπεδον διὰ τετραγώνου κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τριάδα συγγένειαν, καὶ τὴν στερεὰν διὰ κύβου κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τετράδα οἰκειότητα· ἐκ τριάδος δὲ καὶ τετράδος ἑβδομάς.

107 XXXVII. Ἔστι δὲ οὐ τελεσφόρος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καί, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἁρμονικωτάτη καὶ τρόπον τινὰ πηγὴ τοῦ καλλίστου διαγράμματος, ὃ πάσας μὲν τὰς ἁρμονίας, τὴν διὰ τεττάρων, τὴν διὰ

ages are measured by multiples of seven though not in regular succession. His words are: "In man's life there are seven seasons, which they call ages, little boy, boy, lad, young man, man, elderly man, old man. He is a little boy until he reaches seven years, the time of the shedding of his teeth; a boy until he reaches puberty, *i.e.* up to twice seven years; a lad until his chin grows downy, *i.e.* up to thrice seven years; a young man until his whole body has grown, till four times seven; a man till forty-nine, till seven times seven; an elderly man till fifty-six, up to seven times eight; after that an old man."

The following is also mentioned to commend the number 7 as occupying a wonderful place in nature, since it consists of $3+4$: if we multiply by 2, we shall find that the third number, counted from 1, is a square, and the fourth a cube, while the seventh (and 7 is made up of 3 and 4), is at once a square and a cube: for the third number in this multiplication by 2, namely 4, is a square, the fourth, 8, is a cube; the seventh, 64, is at once a cube and a square. Thus the seventh number does indeed bring with it perfection, claiming both correspondences, that with the superficies by means of the square, in virtue of its kinship with 3, and that with the solid body by means of the cube, in virtue of its relationship with 4; and 3 and 4 make 7.

XXXVII. It is however not only a bringer of perfection, but, one may say, absolutely harmonious, and in a certain sense the source of the most beautiful scale, which contains all the harmonies, that yielded by the interval of four, by the interval of five, by

πέντε, τὴν διὰ πασῶν, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἀναλογιας, τὴν ἀριθμητικήν, τὴν γεωμετρικήν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν ἁρμονικὴν περιέχει. τὸ δὲ πλινθίον συνέστηκεν ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν ἀριθμῶν, ἓξ ὀκτὼ ἐννέα δώδεκα· ὁ μὲν ὀκτὼ πρὸς ἓξ ἐν ἐπιτρίτῳ λόγῳ, καθ' ὃν ἡ διὰ τεττάρων ἁρμονία ἐστίν· ὁ δὲ ἐννέα πρὸς ἓξ ἐν ἡμιολίῳ, καθ' ὃν ἡ διὰ πέντε· ὁ δὲ δώδεκα πρὸς ἓξ ἐν διπλασίονι, καθ' ὃν ἡ διὰ πασῶν.

108 ἔχει δὲ ὥς ἔλεγον καὶ τὰς ἀναλογίας πάσας· ἀριθμητικὴν μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἓξ καὶ ἐννέα καὶ δώδεκα· οἷς γὰρ ὑπερέχει ὁ μέσος τοῦ πρώτου τρισίν, τούτοις ὑπερέχεται ὑπὸ τοῦ τελευταίου· γεωμετρικὴν δὲ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων· ὃν γὰρ λόγον ἔχει
[27] τὰ ὀκτὼ πρὸς ἕξ, | τοῦτον τὰ δώδεκα πρὸς ἐννέα· ὁ δὲ λόγος ἐπίτριτος· ἁρμονικὴν δὲ ἐκ τριῶν, τοῦ
109 ἓξ καὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ δώδεκα. ἁρμονικῆς δ' ἀναλογίας διττὴ κρίσις· μία μέν, ὅταν ὃν λόγον ἔχει ὁ ἔσχατος πρὸς τὸν πρῶτον τοῦτον ἔχῃ ἡ ὑπεροχὴ ᾗ ὑπερέχει ὁ ἔσχατος τοῦ μέσου πρὸς τὴν ὑπεροχὴν ᾗ ὑπερέχεται ὑπὸ τοῦ μέσου ὁ πρῶτος. ἐναργεστάτην δὲ πίστιν λάβοι τις ἂν ἐκ τῶν προκειμένων ἀριθμῶν, τοῦ ἓξ καὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ δώδεκα· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τελευταῖος τοῦ πρώτου διπλάσιος, ἡ δ' ὑπεροχὴ πάλιν διπλασία· τὰ μὲν γὰρ δώδεκα τῶν ὀκτὼ τέτταρσιν ὑπερέχει, τὰ δὲ ὀκτὼ τῶν ἓξ δυσί· τὰ δὲ τέσσαρα τῶν δυοῖν διπλάσια.

110 ἑτέρα δὲ βάσανος τῆς ἁρμονικῆς ἀναλογίας, ὅταν ὁ μέσος τῶν ἄκρων ἴσῳ μορίῳ <καὶ> ὑπερέχῃ καὶ ὑπερέχηται· ὁ γὰρ ὄγδοος μέσος ὢν ὑπερέχει μὲν τοῦ πρώτου τρίτῳ μορίῳ· ὑφαιρεθέντων γὰρ τῶν ἕξ, τὰ λοιπὰ δύο τρίτον ἐστὶ τοῦ πρώτου· ὑπερέχεται δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ τελευταίου τῷ ἴσῳ· εἰ γὰρ

the octave[a]; and all the progressions, the arithmetic, the geometric, and the harmonic as well. The scheme is formed out of the following numbers: 6, 8, 9, 12. 8 stands to 6 in the proportion 4 : 3, which regulates the harmony of 4; 9 stands to 6 in the proportion 3 : 2, which regulates the harmony of 5; 12 stands to 6 in the proportion 2 : 1, which regulates the octave. And, as I said, it contains also all the progressions, the arithmetic made up of 6 and 9 and 12—for as the middle number exceeds the first by 3, so it in its turn is exceeded to the same amount by the last; the geometric, made up of the four numbers (6, 8, 9, 12); for 12 bears the same proportion to 9 that 8 does to 6, and the proportion is 4 : 3; the harmonic, made up of three numbers (6, 8, and 12). There are two modes of testing harmonic progression. One is this. (Harmonic progression is present) whenever the relation in which the last term stands to the first is identical with that in which the excess of the last over the middle term stands to the excess of the middle term over the first. A very clear proof may be obtained from the numbers before us, 6 and 8 and 12: for the last is double the first, and the difference or excess is also double; for 12 exceeds 8 by 4, and 8 exceeds 6 by 2, and 4 is twice 2. Another way of detecting the presence of harmonic proportion is this. (It is present) whenever the middle term exceeds the one extreme and is itself exceeded by the other by the same fraction; for 8 being the middle term exceeds the first by one-third of the latter, for when we subtract 6 (from 8) the remainder, 2, is one-third of the first number, and 8 is exceeded by the last number by

[a] See note on 95.

ὑφαιρεθείη τῶν δώδεκα τὰ ὀκτώ, τὰ λοιπὰ τέσσαρα γίνεται τοῦ τελευταίου τρίτον.

111 XXXVIII. Ταῦτα μὲν ἀναγκαίως περὶ σεμνότητος, ἣν ἔχει τὸ διάγραμμα, ἢ πλινθίον, ἢ ὅ τι χρὴ καλεῖν, προειρήσθω· τοσαύτας ἰδέας καὶ ἔτι πλείους ἑβδομὰς ἐν ἀσωμάτοις καὶ νοητοῖς ἐπιδείκνυται. διατείνει δ' αὐτῆς ἡ φύσις καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁρατὴν ἅπασαν οὐσίαν, οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν, τὰ πέρατα τοῦ παντός, φθάσασα. τί γὰρ οὐ φιλέβδομον τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ μέρος, ἔρωτι καὶ πόθῳ
112 δαμασθὲν ἑβδομάδος; αὐτίκα τὸν οὐρανόν φασιν ἑπτὰ διεζῶσθαι κύκλοις, ὧν ὀνόματα εἶναι τάδε· ἀρκτικόν, ἀνταρκτικόν, θερινὸν τροπικόν, χειμερινὸν τροπικόν, ἰσημερινόν, ζῳδιακόν, καὶ προσέτι γαλαξίαν· ὁ γὰρ ὁρίζων πάθος ἐστὶν ἡμέτερον, ὡς ἂν ὀξυωπίας ἔχῃ τις ἢ τοὐναντίον, ἀποτεμνομένης τῆς αἰσθήσεως τοτὲ μὲν ἐλάττω τοτὲ δὲ
113 μείζω περιγραφήν. οἵ γε μὴν πλάνητες, ἡ ἀντίρροπος στρατιὰ τῇ τῶν ἀπλανῶν, ἑπτὰ διακοσμοῦνται τάξεσι, πλείστην ἐπιδεικνύμενοι συμπάθειαν πρὸς ἀέρα καὶ γῆν· τὸν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰς ἐτησίους ἐπικαλουμένας ὥρας τρέπουσι καὶ μεταβάλλουσι, καθ' ἑκάστην μυρίας ὅσας ἐμποιοῦντες μεταβολάς, νηνεμίαις, αἰθρίαις, νεφώσεσι, βίαις ἐξαισίοις πνευμάτων· πάλιν τε ποταμοὺς πλημμυροῦσι καὶ μειοῦσι, καὶ πεδία λιμνάζουσι, καὶ τοὐναντίον ἀφαναίνουσι· καὶ πελαγῶν ἐργάζονται τροπὰς ἐξαναχωρούντων ἢ παλιρροίαις χρωμένων· εὑρεῖς γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε κόλποι θαλάττης ὑποσυρείσης ἀμπώτεσι, βαθὺς ἐξαίφνης αἰγιαλός εἰσι, καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀναχυθείσης, πελάγη βαθύτατα,

[a] See App. p. 475, note on 54.

the same fraction, for if 8 be subtracted from 12, the remainder 4 is one-third of the last number.

XXXVIII. Let what has been said suffice as a bare outline of the dignity pertaining to the figure or scheme or whatever we ought to call it: all these qualities and more still does 7 discover in the incorporeal and intellectual sphere. But its nature reaches further, extending to all visible existence, to heaven and earth, to the utmost bounds of the universe. For what part of the world's contents is not a lover of seven, overcome by passion and desire for it? Let us give some instances. They tell us that heaven is girdled by seven zones, whose names are these: arctic, antarctic, that of the summer solstice, that of the winter solstice, equinox, zodiac, and beside these the milky way. The horizon is not one of these, for it is a thing of subjective observation, our eyesight, as it is keen or the reverse, cutting off, now a smaller, now a larger, circumference. Moreover, the planets, the heavenly host that moves counter to the fixed stars,[a] are marshalled in seven ranks, and manifest large sympathy with air and earth. The one (the air) they turn and shift for the so-called annual seasons, producing in each of these seasons a thousand changes by times of calm, or fair weather, of cloudy skies, of unusually violent storms: they flood rivers and shrink them; they turn plains into marshes, and dry them up again: they produce tides in the sea, as it ebbs and flows: for at times broad gulfs, through the sea's being withdrawn by ebbing, suddenly become a far-reaching stretch of sand, and a little later, as it is poured back, they become deep seas navigable not merely by small

[28] οὐ βραχείαις | ὁλκάσιν ἀλλὰ μυριοφόροις ναυσὶν ἐμπλεόμενα· καὶ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐπίγεια πάντα, ζῷά τε αὖ καὶ φυτὰ καρποὺς γεννῶντα, αὔξουσι καὶ τελεσφοροῦσι τὴν ἐν ἑκάστοις φύσιν δολιχεύειν παρασκευάζοντες, ὡς νέα παλαιοῖς ἐπανθεῖν καὶ ἐπακμάζειν πρὸς χορηγίας ἀφθόνους τῶν δεομένων.

114 XXXIX. Ἄρκτος γε μήν, ἥν φασι πλωτήρων εἶναι προπομπόν, ἐξ ἑπτὰ ἀστέρων συνέστηκεν· εἰς ἣν ἀφορῶντες κυβερνῆται τὰς ἐν θαλάττῃ μυρίας ὁδοὺς ἀνέτεμον, ἀπίστῳ πράγματι καὶ μείζονι ἢ κατὰ φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην ἐπιθέμενοι· στοχασμῷ γὰρ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀστέρων τὰς πρὶν ἀδηλουμένας χώρας ἀνεῦρον, νήσους μὲν οἱ τὴν ἤπειρον οἰκοῦντες, νησιῶται δὲ ἠπείρους· ἔδει γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου τῆς οὐσίας οὐρανοῦ ζῴῳ τῷ θεοφιλεστάτῳ γῆς ὁμοῦ καὶ θαλάττης

115 ἀναδειχθῆναι τοὺς μυχοὺς ἀνθρώπων γένει. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ ὁ τῶν πλειάδων χορὸς ἀστέρων ἑβδομάδι συμπεπλήρωται, ὧν αἱ ἐπιτολαὶ καὶ ἀποκρύψεις μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιαι γίνονται πᾶσι· δυομένων μὲν γὰρ αὔλακες ἀνατέμνονται πρὸς σπόρον· ἡνίκα δ' ἂν μέλλωσιν ἐπιτέλλειν, ἄμητον εὐαγγελίζονται, καὶ ἐπιτείλασαι χαίροντας γεωπόνους πρὸς συγκομιδὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐγείρουσιν· οἱ δ' ἄσμενοι τὰς τροφὰς ἀποτίθενται

116 πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν χρῆσιν. ὅ τε μέγας ἡγεμὼν ἡμέρας ἥλιος διττὰς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποτελῶν ἰσημερίας, ἔαρι καὶ μετοπώρῳ, τὴν μὲν ἐαρινὴν ἐν κριῷ, τὴν δὲ μετοπωρινὴν ἐν ζυγῷ, ἐναργεστάτην παρέχεται πίστιν τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἑβδόμην θεοπρεποῦς· ἑκατέρα γὰρ τῶν ἰση-

barges but by ships of many tons burden. Yes, and the planets cause all things on earth, living creatures and fruit-yielding plants, to grow and come to perfection, enabling, as they do, the natural power in each of them to run its full round, new fruits blossoming and ripening on old trees, to supply abundantly those who need them. XXXIX. The Great Bear, moreover, which is called the mariners' escort, consists of seven stars. Fixing their eyes on this, pilots cut those countless paths in the sea, undertaking an enterprise surpassing belief and human powers. For by keeping their eyes on the stars we have named they discovered countries hitherto unknown, dwellers on the continents discovering islands, and islanders continents. For it was meet that by heaven, purest of all things existing, should be revealed to the living creature best loved by God, even the human race, the secret recesses both of land and sea. Beside the cases already mentioned, the full tale of the band of Pleiades is made up of seven stars, whose appearances and disappearances are fraught with vast benefits to all men : for when they are setting, furrows are opened for sowing, and when they are about to rise, they announce reaping-time ; and when they have risen, they make glad the workers on the land and rouse them to gather in the crops that meet their needs ; and they blithely store up their food for daily use. The sun, too, the great lord of day, bringing about two equinoxes each year, in Spring and Autumn, the Spring equinox in the constellation of the Ram, and the Autumn equinox in that of the Scales, supplies very clear evidence of the sacred dignity of the 7th number, for each of the equinoxes occurs in a 7th

μεριῶν ἑβδόμῳ γίνεται μηνί, καθ' ἃς καὶ ἑορτάζειν διείρηται νόμῳ τὰς μεγίστας καὶ δημοτελεστάτας ἑορτάς, ἐπειδήπερ ἀμφοτέραις τὰ ὅσα ἐκ γῆς τελειογονεῖται, ἔαρι μὲν ὁ τοῦ σίτου καρπὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα σπαρτά, μετοπώρῳ δὲ ὁ τῆς ἀμπέλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλείστων ἀκροδρύων.

117 XL. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκ τῶν οὐρανίων τὰ ἐπίγεια ἤρτηται κατά τινα φυσικὴν συμπάθειαν, ὁ τῆς ἑβδομάδος λόγος ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενος κατέβη καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοῖς θνητοῖς γένεσιν ἐπιφοιτήσας. αὐτίκα τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς τὸ δίχα τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ μέρος ἑπταχῆ σχίζεται, εἰς πέντε αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὸ φωνητήριον ὄργανον καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ γόνιμον· ἃ δὴ πάντα, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς θαύμασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ νευροσπαστούμενα, τοτὲ μὲν ἠρεμεῖ τοτὲ δὲ κινεῖται τὰς ἁρμοττούσας σχέσεις καὶ
118 κινήσεις ἕκαστον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῦ σώματος εἴ τις ἐξετάζειν ἐπιχειρήσειε τά τ' ἐκτὸς καὶ ἐντὸς μέρη, καθ' ἑκάτερον ἑπτὰ εὑρήσει· τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν φανερῷ ταῦτ' ἐστί· κεφαλή, στέρνα, γαστήρ, |
[29] διτταὶ χεῖρες, διτταὶ βάσεις· τὰ δ' ἐντὸς λεγόμενα σπλάγχνα στόμαχος, καρδία, πνεύμων, σπλήν,
119 ἧπαρ, νεφροὶ δύο. πάλιν δ' αὖ τὸ ἡγεμονικώτατον ἐν ζῴῳ κεφαλὴ τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἑπτὰ χρῆται, δυσὶν ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἀκοαῖς ἴσαις, αὐλοῖς μυκτῆρος δυσίν, ἑβδόμῳ στόματι, δι' οὗ γίνεται θνητῶν μέν, ὡς ἔφη Πλάτων, εἴσοδος, ἔξοδος δ' ἀφθάρτων· ἐπεισέρχεται μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ σιτία καὶ ποτά, φθαρτοῦ σώματος φθαρταὶ τροφαί, λόγοι δ' ἐξίασιν ἀθανάτου ψυχῆς ἀθάνατοι νόμοι, δι' ὧν ὁ λογικὸς βίος κυβερνᾶται.

[a] Philo seems to have shared the belief of the later Jews

month, and during them there is enjoined by law the keeping of the greatest national festivals, since at both of them all fruits of the earth ripen, in the Spring [a] the wheat and all else that is sown, and in Autumn the fruit of the vine and most of the other fruit-trees.

XL. As, however, in accordance with a certain natural sympathy the things of the earth depend on the things of heaven, the principle of the number 7, after having begun from above, descended also to us and visited the races of mortals. For instance, if we leave the understanding out of sight, the remainder of our soul is divided [b] into seven parts, namely five senses, the faculty of speech, last that of generation. All these, as in marionette shows, are drawn with strings by the understanding, now resting, now moving, each in the attitudes and with the movements appropriate to it. In like manner, should a man go on to examine the outer and inner parts of the body, he will find seven under each head. The visible parts are head, breast, belly, two hands, two feet. The inward parts, called entrails, are stomach, heart, lung, spleen, liver, two kidneys. Once more, the head, the most princely part in an animal, employs seven most essential parts, two eyes, as many ears, two nostrils, seventhly a mouth. Through this, as Plato says,[c] mortal things have their entrance, immortal their exit; for foods and drinks enter it, perishable nourishment of a perishable body, but words issue from it, undying laws of an undying soul, by means of which the life of reason is guided.

that their sacred year began in the spring, and their civil year in the autumn. [b] See App. p. 476.

[c] *Timaeus* 75 D. Plato's contrast, however, is between ἀναγκαῖα and ἄριστα.

120 XLI. Τὰ δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀρίστης τῶν αἰσθήσεων
ὄψεως κρινόμενα μετέχει τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ κατὰ γένος·
ἑπτὰ γάρ ἐστι τὰ ὁρώμενα, σῶμα, διάστασις,
σχῆμα, μέγεθος, χρῶμα, κίνησις, στάσις, καὶ
121 παρὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἕτερον. συμβέβηκε μέντοι καὶ
τὰς τῆς φωνῆς μεταβολὰς ἁπάσας ἑπτὰ εἶναι, τὴν
ὀξεῖαν, τὴν βαρεῖαν, τὴν περισπωμένην, καὶ τέταρ-
τον δασὺν φθόγγον, καὶ ψιλὸν πέμπτον, καὶ μακρὸν
122 ἕκτον, καὶ βραχὺν ἕβδομον. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ κινήσεις
ἑπτὰ εἶναι συμβέβηκε, τὴν ἄνω, τὴν κάτω, τὴν
ἐπὶ δεξιά, τὴν ἐπ' εὐώνυμα, τὴν πρόσω, τὴν
κατόπιν, τὴν ἐν κύκλῳ, ἃς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τρα-
123 νοῦσιν οἱ τὴν ὄρχησιν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι. φασὶ δὲ
καὶ τὰς διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἐκκρίσεις ὑπεστάλθαι
τῷ λεχθέντι ἀριθμῷ· διὰ μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμῶν δάκρυα
προχεῖται, διὰ δὲ μυκτήρων αἱ ἐκ κεφαλῆς καθάρ-
σεις, διὰ δὲ στόματος ὁ ἀποπτυόμενος σίελος·
εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ διτταὶ δεξαμεναὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν περιττω-
μάτων ἀποχετεύσεις, ἡ μὲν ἔμπροσθεν, ἡ δὲ
κατόπιν· ἕκτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ δι' ὅλου τοῦ σώματος
ἐν ἱδρῶτι πρόχυσις, καὶ <ἑβδόμη> ἡ φυσικωτάτη
σπέρματος πρόεσις διὰ τῶν γεννητικῶν.
124 φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἱπποκράτης, ὁ τῆς φύσεως ἐπιγνώ-
μων, ἐν ἑβδομάδι κρατύνεσθαι καὶ τὴν πῆξιν τῆς
γονῆς καὶ τὴν ἀνάπλασιν τῆς σαρκός. πάλιν δ'
αὖ γυναιξὶν ἡ φορὰ τῶν καταμηνίων εἰς ἑπτὰ τὰς
πλείστας ἡμέρας χορηγεῖται. καὶ τὰ κατὰ γαστρὸς
βρέφη μησὶν ἑπτὰ τελειογονεῖσθαι πέφυκεν, ὡς
παραδοξότατόν τι συμβαίνειν· γίνεται γὰρ τὰ

[a] Literally, "according to kind." The objects of sight, he means, are of seven *kinds*.

XLI. The objects which are distinguished by sight, the noblest of the senses, participate in the number of which we are speaking, if classified by their kinds [a]: for the kinds which are seen are seven—body, extension,[b] shape, size, colour, movement, quiescence, and beside these there is no other. The varieties of the voice too are seven in all, the acute, the grave, the circumflex, and fourthly the rough (or " aspirated "), and fifthly the thin (or " unaspirated ") utterance, and sixthly the long, and seventhly the short sound. Likewise there are seven movements, upward, downward, to the right, to the left, forward, backward, in a circle. These come out most distinctly in an exhibition of dancing. The discharges from the body also (it has been pointed out) are limited to the number named : for through the eyes tears pour out, through the nostrils purgings from the head, through the mouth expectorations of phlegm : there are also two receptacles for excretion of superfluities, one in front, one behind ; and in the sixth place there is perspiration exuding through the whole body, and in the seventh place the natural normal emission of seed through the genital organs.
Further Hippocrates, that expert in the processes of nature, says that in seven days both the solidifying of the seed and the formation of the embryo take place. Once again, for women the duration of the monthly cleansing is at the most seven days. Moreover the fruit of the womb is brought by nature to full ripeness in seven months, with a most strange result, namely that seven months' children come

[b] *i.e.*, " of how many dimensions." The word may, perhaps, mean " distance " or " separation," *i.e.* from other bodies.

ἑπτάμηνα γόνιμα, τῶν ὀκτωμηνιαίων ὡς ἐπίπαν
125 ζῳογονεῖσθαι μὴ δυναμένων. αἵ τε βαρεῖαι νόσοι
σωμάτων, καὶ μάλισθ᾿ ὅταν ἐκ δυσκρασίας τῶν
ἐν ἡμῖν δυνάμεων πυρετοὶ συνεχεῖς ἐπισκήψωσιν,
ἑβδόμῃ μάλιστά πως ἡμέρᾳ διακρίνονται· δικάζει
γὰρ ἀγῶνα τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς, τοῖς μὲν σωτηρίαν
ψηφιζομένη, τοῖς δὲ θάνατον.

126 XLII. Ἡ δὲ δύναμις αὐτῆς οὐ μόνον τοῖς
εἰρημένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἀρίσταις τῶν ἐπιστημῶν
ἐπιπεφοίτηκε, γραμματικῇ τε καὶ μουσικῇ. λύρα
μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἑπτάχορδος, ἀναλογοῦσα τῇ τῶν πλα-
νήτων χορείᾳ, τὰς ἐλλογίμους ἁρμονίας ἀποτελεῖ,
σχεδόν τι τῆς κατὰ μουσικὴν ὀργανοποιίας ἁπάσης
[30] | ἡγεμονὶς οὖσα. στοιχείων τε τῶν ἐν γραμματικῇ
τὰ λεγόμενα φωνήεντα ἐτύμως ἑπτά ἐστιν, ἐπειδὴ
καὶ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἔοικε φωνεῖσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
συνταττόμενα φωνὰς ἐνάρθρους ἀποτελεῖν· τῶν
μὲν γὰρ ἡμιφώνων ἀναπληροῖ τὸ ἐνδέον ὁλο-
κλήρους κατασκευάζοντα τοὺς φθόγγους, τῶν δ᾿
ἀφώνων τρέπει καὶ μεταβάλλει τὰς φύσεις ἐμ-
πνέοντα τῆς ἰδίας δυνάμεως, ἵνα γένηται τὰ
127 ἄρρητα ῥητά. διό μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τὰ ὀνόματα
τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπιφημίσαντες ἅτε σοφοὶ
καλέσαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἑπτὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν
σεβασμοῦ καὶ τῆς προσούσης σεμνότητος· Ῥω-
μαῖοι δὲ καὶ προστιθέντες τὸ ἐλλειφθὲν ὑφ᾿ Ἑλ-
λήνων στοιχεῖον τὸ Σ τρανοῦσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον τὴν
ἔμφασιν, ἐτυμώτερον σέπτεμ προσαγορεύοντες ἀπὸ
τοῦ σεμνοῦ, καθάπερ ἐλέχθη, καὶ σεβασμοῦ.

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[a] *ἑπτά* is Greek for "seven."

to the birth, whereas eight months' children as a rule fail to do so alive. Severe bodily sicknesses too, especially persistent attacks of fever due to internal disorder, generally reach the crisis on the seventh day; for this day decides the struggle for life, bringing to some recovery, to others death.

XLII. The number 7 exerts its influence not only in the spheres that have been mentioned, but also in those noblest of sciences, grammar and music. For the seven-stringed lyre, corresponding to the choir of the Planets, produces the notable melodies, and it is not going too far to say that the lyre is the rule to which the making of all musical instruments conforms. And among the letters in grammar there are seven properly called vowels or "vocals," since as is obvious they can be sounded by themselves, and when joined with the others can produce articulate sounds; for on the one hand they fill up what is lacking to the "semi-vowels," rendering the sounds full and complete, and on the other hand they change the nature of the "voiceless" (the consonants) by breathing into them something of their own power, that it may now be possible to pronounce letters before incapable of pronunciation. On these grounds I hold that those who originally fitted names to things, being wise men, called this number "seven" because of the "reverence" (*σεβασμός*) which it deserves, and the heavenly "dignity" (*σεμνότης*) pertaining to it. The Romans, who add the letter σ left out by the Greeks,[a] make this appear still more clearly, since they, with greater accuracy, call the number *septem*, owing to its derivation, as I have said, from σεμνός (reverend) and σεβασμός ("reverence").

128 XLIII. Ταῦτα καὶ ἔτι πλείω λέγεται καὶ φιλοσοφεῖται περὶ ἑβδομάδος, ὧν ἕνεκα τιμὰς μὲν ἔλαχεν ἐν τῇ φύσει τὰς ἀνωτάτω, τιμᾶται δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς δοκιμωτάτοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων, οἳ τὴν μαθηματικὴν ἐπιστήμην διαπονοῦσιν, ἐκτετίμηται δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλαρέτου Μωυσέως, ὃς τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς ἀνέγραψεν ἐν ταῖς ἱερωτάταις τοῦ νόμου στήλαις, ταῖς δὲ διανοίαις τῶν ὑφ᾽ αὐτὸν ἁπάντων ἐνεχάραξε, δι᾽ ἓξ ἡμερῶν κελεύσας ἄγειν ἱερὰν ἑβδόμην, ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνέχοντας ἔργων, ὅσα κατὰ ζήτησιν βίου καὶ πορισμόν, ἐνὶ μόνῳ σχολάζοντας τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν εἰς βελτίωσιν ἠθῶν καὶ τὸν τοῦ συνειδότος ἔλεγχον, ὃς ἐνιδρυμένος τῇ ψυχῇ, καθάπερ δικαστὴς ἐπιπλήττων οὐ δυσωπεῖται, τὰ μὲν σφοδροτέραις ἀπειλαῖς τὰ δὲ καὶ μετριωτέραις νουθεσίαις χρώμενος, περὶ μὲν ὧν ἔδοξεν ἐκ προνοίας ἀδικεῖν ἀπειλαῖς, περὶ δ᾽ ὧν ἀκούσια, διὰ τὸ ἀπροοράτως ἔχειν, νουθεσίαις ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηκέθ᾽ ὁμοίως ὀλισθεῖν.

129 XLIV. Ἐπιλογιζόμενος δὲ τὴν κοσμοποιίαν κεφαλαιώδει τύπῳ φησίν· "Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὅτε ἐγένετο, ᾗ ἡμέρᾳ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ πᾶν χλωρὸν ἀγροῦ πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντα χόρτον ἀγροῦ πρὸ τοῦ ἀνατεῖλαι" (Gen. ii. 4, 5). ἆρ᾽ οὐκ ἐμφανῶς τὰς ἀσωμάτους καὶ νοητὰς ἰδέας παρίστησιν, ἃς τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων σφραγῖδας εἶναι συμβέβηκε; πρὶν γὰρ

XLIII. These and yet more than these are the statements and reflections of men on the number 7, showing the reasons for the very high honour which that number has attained in Nature, the honour in which it is held by the most approved investigators of the science of Mathematics and Astronomy among Greeks and other peoples, and the special honour accorded to it by that lover of virtue, Moses. He inscribed its beauty on the most holy tables of the Law, and impressed it on the minds of all who were set under him, by bidding them at intervals of six days to keep a seventh day holy, abstaining from other work that has to do with seeking and gaining a livelihood, and giving their time to the one sole object of philosophy with a view to the improvement of character and submission to the scrutiny of conscience. Conscience, established in the soul like a judge, is never abashed in administering reproofs, sometimes employing sharper threats, sometimes gentler admonitions; threats, where the wrongdoing appeared to be deliberate; admonitions, to guard against a like lapse in the future, when the misconduct seemed unintentional and the result of want of caution.

XLIV. In his concluding summary of the story of creation he says: "This is the book of the genesis of heaven and earth, when they came into being, in the day in which God made the heaven and the earth and every herb of the field before it appeared upon the earth, and all grass of the field before it sprang up" (Gen. ii. 4, 5). Is he not manifestly describing the incorporeal ideas present only to the mind, by which, as by seals, the finished objects that meet our senses were moulded? For before the earth put forth its

χλοῆσαι τὴν γῆν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ φύσει τῶν πραγμάτων χλόη, φησίν, ἦν, καὶ πρὶν ἀνατεῖλαι
130 χόρτον ἐν ἀγρῷ, χόρτος ἦν οὐχ ὁρατός. ὑπονοητέον δ᾽ ὅτι καὶ ἑκάστου τῶν ἄλλων ἃ δικά-
[31] ζουσιν αἰσθήσεις τὰ πρεσβύτερα | εἴδη καὶ μέτρα, οἷς εἰδοποιεῖται καὶ μετρεῖται τὰ γινόμενα, προϋπῆρχε· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ κατὰ μέρος <ἀλλ᾽> ἀθρόα πάντα διεξελήλυθε φροντίζων εἰ καί τις ἄλλος βραχυλογίας, οὐδὲν ἧττον τὰ ῥηθέντα ὀλίγα δείγματα τῆς τῶν συμπάντων ἐστὶ φύσεως, ἥτις ἄνευ ἀσωμάτου παραδείγματος οὐδὲν τελεσιουργεῖ τῶν ἐν αἰσθήσει.

131 XLV. Τῆς δ᾽ ἀκολουθίας ἐχόμενος καὶ τὸν εἱρμὸν τῶν ἑπομένων πρὸς τὰ ἡγούμενα διατηρῶν ἑξῆς λέγει· "πηγὴ δ᾽ ἀνέβαινεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπότιζε πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς" (Gen. ii. 6). οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι φιλόσοφοι τὸ σύμπαν ὕδωρ ἓν στοιχεῖον εἶναί φασι τῶν τεττάρων, ἐξ ὧν ὁ κόσμος ἐδημιουργήθη. Μωυσῆς δ᾽, ὀξυωπεστέροις ὄμμασι καὶ τὰ μακρὰν εἰωθὼς εὖ μάλα θεωρεῖν καὶ καταλαμβάνειν, στοιχεῖον μὲν οἴεται εἶναι τὴν μεγάλην θάλατταν, μοῖραν τετάρτην τῶν συμπάντων, ἣν οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν Ὠκεανὸν προσαγορεύοντες τὰ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν πλωτὰ πελάγη λιμένων ἔχειν μεγέθη νομίζουσι, τὸ δὲ γλυκὺ καὶ πότιμον ὕδωρ διέκρινεν ἀπὸ τοῦ θαλαττίου, προσκατατάξας αὐτὸ τῇ γῇ καὶ μέρος ταύτης ὑπολαβών, οὐκ ἐκείνου, διὰ τὴν λεχθεῖσαν αἰτίαν πρότερον, ἵν᾽ ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ δεσμοῦ συνέχηται γλυκείᾳ ποιότητι κόλλης τρόπον ἑνούσης· ξηρὰ γὰρ ἀπολειφθεῖσα, μὴ παραδυομένης νοτίδος

young green shoots, young verdure was present, he tells us, in the nature of things without material shape, and before grass sprang up in the field, there was in existence an invisible grass. We must suppose that in the case of all other objects also, on which the senses pronounce judgement, the original forms and measures, to which all things that come into being owe shape and size, subsisted before them; for even if he has not dealt with everything in detail but in the mass, aiming as he does at brevity in a high degree, nevertheless what he does say gives us a few indications of universal Nature, which brings forth no finished product in the world of sense without using an incorporeal pattern.

XLV. Keeping to the sequence of the creation and carefully observing the connexion between what follows and what has gone before, he next says: "and a spring went up out of the earth and watered all the face of the earth" (Gen. ii. 6). Other philosophers say that all water is one of the four elements out of which the world was made. But Moses, wont as he is with keener vision to observe and apprehend amazingly well even distant objects, does indeed regard the great sea as an element, a fourth part of the whole, which his successors, reckoning the seas we sail to be in size mere harbours compared to it, call Ocean; but he distinguished sweet drinkable water from the salt water, assigning the former to the land and looking on it as part of this, not of the sea. It is such a part, for the purpose already mentioned, that by the sweet quality of the water as by a uniting glue the earth may be bound and held together: for had it been left dry, with no moisture making its way in and spreading by many

διὰ τῶν ἀραιωμάτων πολυσχιδῶς ἐπιφοιτώσης, κἂν διελέλυτο· συνέχεται δὲ καὶ διαμένει τὰ μὲν πνεύματος ἑνωτικοῦ δυνάμει, τὰ δὲ τῆς νοτίδος οὐκ ἐώσης ἀφαναινομένην κατὰ τρύφη μικρὰ καὶ
132 μεγάλα θρύπτεσθαι. μία μὲν αἰτία ἥδε, λεκτέον δὲ καὶ ἑτέραν στοχαζομένην ὥσπερ σκοποῦ τῆς ἀληθείας· οὐδὲν τῶν γηγενῶν ἄνευ ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας συνίστασθαι πέφυκε· μηνύουσι δ' αἱ καταβολαὶ τῶν σπερμάτων, ἅπερ ἢ ὑγρά ἐστιν, ὡς τὰ τῶν ζῴων, ἢ οὐκ ἄνευ ὑγρότητος βλαστάνει, τοιαῦτα δὲ τὰ τῶν φυτῶν ἐστιν· ἐξ οὗ δῆλον ὅτι ἀνάγκη τὴν λεχθεῖσαν ὑγρὰν οὐσίαν μέρος εἶναι γῆς τῆς πάντα τικτούσης, καθάπερ ταῖς γυναιξὶ τὴν φορὰν τῶν καταμηνίων· λέγεται γὰρ οὖν καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς ἀνδρῶν φυσικῶν οὐσία σωματικὴ βρεφῶν εἶναι.
133 τῶν δ' εἰρημένων οὐκ ἀπᾴδει καὶ τὸ μέλλον λέγεσθαι· πάσῃ μητρὶ καθάπερ ἀναγκαιότατον μέρος ἡ φύσις πηγάζοντας ἀνέδωκε μαστοὺς προευτρεπισαμένη τροφὰς τῷ γεννησομένῳ· μήτηρ δ' ὡς ἔοικε καὶ ἡ γῆ, παρὸ καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις ἔδοξεν αὐτὴν Δήμητραν καλέσαι τὸ μητρὸς καὶ γῆς
[32] ὄνομα συνθεῖσιν· οὐ | γὰρ γῆ γυναῖκα, ὡς εἶπε Πλάτων, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ γῆν μεμίμηται, ἣν ἐτύμως τὸ ποιητικὸν γένος παμμήτορα καὶ καρποφόρον καὶ πανδώραν εἴωθεν ὀνομάζειν, ἐπειδὴ πάντων αἰτία γενέσεως καὶ διαμονῆς ζῴων ὁμοῦ καὶ φυτῶν ἐστιν. εἰκότως οὖν καὶ γῇ τῇ πρεσβυτάτῃ καὶ γονιμωτάτῃ μητέρων ἀνέδωκεν ἡ φύσις οἷα μαστοὺς ποταμῶν ῥεῖθρα καὶ πηγῶν, ἵνα καὶ τὰ

channels through the pores, it would have actually fallen to pieces. It is held together and lasts, partly by virtue of the life-breath that makes it one, partly because it is saved from drying up and breaking off in small or big bits by the moisture. This is one reason, and I must mention another which is a guess at the truth. It is of the nature of nothing earth-born to take form apart from wet substance. This is shown by the depositing of seeds, which either are moist, as those of animals, or do not grow without moisture: such are those of plants. From this it is clear that the wet substance we have mentioned must be a part of the earth which gives birth to all things, just as with women the running of the monthly cleansings; for these too are, so physical scientists tell us, the bodily substance of the *fetus*. And what I am about to say is in perfect agreement with what has been said already. Nature has bestowed on every mother as a most essential endowment teeming breasts, thus preparing in advance food for the child that is to be born. The earth also, as we all know, is a mother, for which reason the earliest men thought fit to call her 'Demeter,' combining the name of 'mother' with that of 'earth'; for, as Plato[a] says, earth does not imitate woman, but woman earth. Poets quite rightly are in the habit of calling earth 'All-mother,' and 'Fruit-bearer' and 'Pandora' or 'Give-all,' inasmuch as she is the originating cause of existence and continuance in existence to all animals and plants alike. Fitly therefore on earth also, most ancient and most fertile of mothers, did Nature bestow, by way of breasts, streams of rivers and springs, to the end that both the plants might be

[a] *Menexenus* 238 A.

φυτὰ ἄρδοιτο καὶ ποτὸν ἄφθονον ἔχοι πάντα τὰ ζῷα.

134 XLVI. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτά φησιν ὅτι "ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς" (Gen. ii. 7). ἐναργέστατα καὶ διὰ τούτου παρίστησιν ὅτι διαφορὰ παμμεγέθης ἐστὶ τοῦ τε νῦν πλασθέντος ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα θεοῦ γεγονότος πρότερον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ διαπλασθεὶς αἰσθητὸς ἤδη μετέχων ποιότητος, ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς συνεστώς, ἀνὴρ ἢ γυνή, φύσει θνητός· ὁ δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα ἰδέα τις ἢ γένος ἢ σφραγίς, νοητός, ἀσώματος, οὔτ' ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ, ἄφθαρτος

135 φύσει. τοῦ δ' αἰσθητοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ μέρους ἀνθρώπου τὴν κατασκευὴν σύνθετον εἶναί φησιν ἔκ τε γεώδους οὐσίας καὶ πνεύματος θείου· γεγενῆσθαι γὰρ τὸ μὲν σῶμα, χοῦν τοῦ τεχνίτου λαβόντος καὶ μορφὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἐξ αὐτοῦ διαπλάσαντος, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἀπ' οὐδενὸς γενητοῦ τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἡγεμόνος τῶν πάντων· ὃ γὰρ ἐνεφύσησεν, οὐδὲν ἦν ἕτερον ἢ πνεῦμα θεῖον, ἀπὸ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ εὐδαίμονος φύσεως ἐκείνης ἀποικίαν τὴν ἐνθάδε στειλάμενον ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν, ἵν' εἰ καὶ θνητόν ἐστι κατὰ τὴν ὁρατὴν μερίδα, κατὰ γοῦν τὴν ἀόρατον ἀθανατίζηται. διὸ καὶ κυρίως ἄν τις εἴποι τὸν ἄνθρωπον θνητῆς καὶ ἀθανάτου φύσεως εἶναι μεθόριον, ἑκατέρας ὅσον ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι μετέχοντα, καὶ γεγενῆσθαι θνητὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀθάνατον, θνητὸν μὲν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀθάνατον.

136 XLVII. Ἐκεῖνος δ' ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ὁ

watered and all animals might have abundance to drink.

XLVI. After this he says that "God formed man by taking clay from the earth, and breathed into his face the breath of life" (Gen. ii. 7). By this also he shows very clearly that there is a vast difference between the man thus formed and the man that came into existence earlier after the image of God: for the man so formed is an object of sense-perception, partaking already of such or such quality, consisting of body and soul, man or woman, by nature mortal; while he that was after the (Divine) image was an idea or type or seal, an object of thought (only), incorporeal, neither male nor female, by nature incorruptible. It says, however, that the formation of the individual man, the object of sense, is a composite one made up of earthly substance and of Divine breath: for it says that the body was made through the Artificer taking clay and moulding out of it a human form, but that the soul was originated from nothing created whatever, but from the Father and Ruler of all: for that which He breathed in was nothing else than a Divine breath that migrated hither from that blissful and happy existence for the benefit of our race, to the end that, even if it is mortal in respect of its visible part, it may in respect of the part that is invisible be rendered immortal. Hence it may with propriety be said that man is the borderland between mortal and immortal nature, partaking of each so far as is needful, and that he was created at once mortal and immortal, mortal in respect of the body, but in respect of the mind immortal.

XLVII. That first man, earth-born, ancestor of

γηγενής, ὁ παντὸς τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἀρχηγέτης,
ἑκάτερον ἄριστος ψυχήν τε καὶ σῶμα γεγενῆσθαί
μοι δοκεῖ καὶ μακρῷ τινι τοὺς ἔπειτα διενεγκεῖν
κατὰ τὰς ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ὑπερβολάς· ὁ γὰρ ἀληθείᾳ
καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς οὗτος ὄντως ἦν. τεκμηριώ-
σαιτο δ' ἄν τις τὴν μὲν τοῦ σώματος εὐμορφίαν
ἐκ τριῶν, ὧν ἐστι πρῶτον τόδε· ἄρτι τῆς γῆς
[33] νεοκτίστου φανείσης κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πολλοῦ | ὕδατος
διάκρισιν, ὃ προσερρήθη θάλαττα, τὴν ὕλην συν-
έβαινε τῶν γινομένων ἀμιγῆ καὶ ἄδολον καὶ καθαρὰν
ἔτι δ' ὁλκὸν καὶ εὐεργὸν εἶναι, ἐξ ἧς τὰ ἀπο-
137 τελούμενα εἰκότως ἦν ἀνυπαίτια. δεύ-
τερον δέ, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ τυχόντος μέρους τῆς γῆς
ἔοικεν ὁ θεὸς χοῦν λαβὼν τὸν ἀνθρωποειδῆ τοῦτον
ἀνδριάντα πλάττειν ἐθελῆσαι μετὰ τῆς ἀνωτάτω
σπουδῆς, ἀλλὰ διακρίνας ἐξ ἁπάσης τὸ βέλτιστον,
ἐκ καθαρᾶς ὕλης τὸ καθαρώτατον καὶ διηθημένον
ἄκρως, ὃ πρὸς τὴν κατασκευὴν μάλιστα ἥρμοζεν·
οἶκος γάρ τις ἢ νεὼς ἱερὸς ἐτεκταίνετο ψυχῆς
λογικῆς, ἣν ἔμελλεν ἀγαλματοφορήσειν ἀγαλ-
138 μάτων τὸ θεοειδέστατον. τρίτον δέ, ὃ
μηδὲ σύγκρισιν ἔχει πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα, ὁ δημιουρ-
γὸς ἀγαθὸς ἦν τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ὡς
ἕκαστον τῶν τοῦ σώματος μερῶν καὶ ἰδίᾳ καθ'
αὑτὸ τοὺς ἐπιβάλλοντας ἔχειν ἀριθμοὺς καὶ πρὸς
τὴν τοῦ ὅλου κοινωνίαν εὐαρμόστως ἀπηκριβῶσθαι·
μετὰ δὲ τῆς συμμετρίας καὶ εὐσαρκίαν προσαν-
έπλαττε καὶ εὔχροιαν ἐνεθογράφει βουλόμενος, ὡς
ἔνι μάλιστα, κάλλιστον ὀφθῆναι τὸν πρῶτον ἄν-
139 θρωπον. XLVIII. ὅτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἄριστος

[a] "Beautiful and good" meant to a Greek "perfect," "as it should be."

our whole race, was made, as it appears to me, most excellent in each part of his being, in both soul and body, and greatly excelling those who came after him in the transcendent qualities of both alike: for this man really was the one truly "beautiful and good."[a] The fair form of his body may be gathered from three proofs. The first is this. When, at the severing of the great mass of water, which received the name of "sea," the newly formed earth appeared, the material of the things to come into existence was, as a result, pure and free from mixture or alloy, and also supple and easy to work, and the things wrought out of it naturally flawless.
Secondly, God is not likely to have taken the clay from any part of the earth that might offer, or to have chosen as rapidly as possible to mould this figure in the shape of a man, but selecting the best from it all, out of pure material taking the purest and most subtly refined, such as was best suited for his structure; for a sacred dwelling-place or shrine was being fashioned for the reasonable soul, which man was to carry as a holy image, of all images the most Godlike. The third proof, incomparably stronger than the two that have been given, is this, that the Creator excelled, as well as in all else, in skill to bring it about that each of the bodily parts should have in itself individually its due proportions, and should also be fitted with the most perfect accuracy for the part it was to take in the whole. And together with this symmetry (of the parts) He bestowed on the body goodly flesh, and adorned it with a rich complexion, desiring the first man to be as fair as could be to behold. XLVIII. That in soul also he was most excellent is manifest;

ἦν, φανερόν· οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἑτέρῳ παραδείγματι τῶν ἐν γενέσει πρὸς τὴν κατασκευὴν αὐτῆς ἔοικε χρήσασθαι, μόνῳ δ' ὡς εἶπον τῷ ἑαυτοῦ λόγῳ. διό φησιν ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ μίμημα γεγενῆσθαι τούτου τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐμπνευσθέντα εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον, ἔνθα τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὁ τόπος, αἷς τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἐψύχωσεν ὁ δημιουργός, τὸν δὲ βασιλέα λογισμὸν ἐνιδρυσάμενος τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ παρέδωκε δορυφορεῖσθαι πρὸς τὰς χρωμάτων καὶ φωνῶν χυλῶν τε αὖ καὶ ἀτμῶν καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων ἀντιλήψεις, ἃς ἄνευ αἰσθήσεως δι' αὐτοῦ μόνου καταλαβεῖν οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν. ἀνάγκη δὲ παγκάλου παραδείγματος πάγκαλον εἶναι τὸ μίμημα. θεοῦ δὲ λόγος καὶ αὐτοῦ κάλλους, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ φύσει κάλλος, ἀμείνων, οὐ κοσμούμενος κάλλει, κόσμος δ' αὐτός, εἰ δεῖ τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, εὐπρεπέστατος ἐκείνου.

140 XLIX. Τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος κατά τε σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν γεγενῆσθαί μοι δοκεῖ, τούς τε νῦν ὄντας καὶ τοὺς πρὸ ἡμῶν διενεγκὼν ἅπαντας· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἡμετέρα γένεσις ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, τὸν δὲ θεὸς ἐδημιούργησεν· ἐφ' ὅσον δὲ κρείττων ὁ ποιῶν, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ τὸ γινόμενον ἄμεινον· ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ ἀκμάζον αἰεὶ τοῦ παρηβηκότος βέλτιόν ἐστιν, εἴτε ζῷον εἴτε φυτὸν εἴτε καρπὸς εἴτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει τυγχάνοι, οὕτως ἔοικεν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος διαπλασθεὶς ἄνθρωπος ἀκμὴ τοῦ ἡμετέρου παντὸς ὑπάρξαι γένους, οἱ δ' ἔπειτα μηκέθ' ὁμοίως ἐπακμάσαι, τῶν κατὰ γενεὰν ἀμαυροτέρας ἀεὶ τάς
141 τε μορφὰς καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις | λαμβανόντων· ὅπερ
[34] ἐπί τε πλαστικῆς καὶ ζωγραφίας γινόμενον εἶδον· ἀποδεῖ γὰρ τὰ μιμήματα τῶν ἀρχετύπων, τὰ δ'

for the Creator, we know, employed for its making no pattern taken from among created things, but solely, as I have said, His own Word (or Reason). It is on this account that he says that man was made a likeness and imitation of the Word, when the Divine Breath was breathed into his face. The face is the seat of the senses. By the senses the Creator endowed the body with soul. To the senses, when He had installed the sovereign Reason in the princely part of man's being, He delivered it to be by them escorted to the apprehension of colours and sounds, as well as of flavours and scents and the like. The Reason, apart from perception by the senses, was unable by itself alone to apprehend these. Now the copy of a perfectly beautiful pattern must needs be of perfect beauty. But the Word of God surpasses beauty itself, beauty, that is, as it exists in Nature. He is not only adorned with beauty, but is Himself in very truth beauty's fairest adornment.

XLIX. Such was the first man created, as I think, in body and soul, surpassing all the men that now are, and all that have been before us. For our beginning is from men, whereas God created him, and the more eminent the maker is, so much the better is the work. For as that which is in bloom is always better than that whose bloom is past, be it animal or plant or fruit or aught else in nature, so the man first fashioned was clearly the bloom of our entire race, and never have his descendants attained the like bloom, forms and faculties ever feebler having been bestowed on each succeeding generation. I have observed the same thing happening in the case of sculpture and painting: the copies are inferior to the originals, and what is painted or moulded

ἀπὸ τῶν μιμημάτων γραφόμενα καὶ πλαττόμενα πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἅτε μακρὰν ἀφεστῶτα τῆς ἀρχῆς· παραπλήσιον δὲ πάθος καὶ ἡ μαγνῆτις λίθος ἐπιδείκνυται· τῶν γὰρ σιδηρῶν δακτυλίων ὁ μὲν αὐτῆς ψαύσας βιαιότατα κρατεῖται, ὁ δὲ τοῦ ψαύσαντος ἧττον, ἐκκρέμαται δὲ καὶ τρίτος δευτέρου, καὶ τέταρτος τρίτου, καὶ πέμπτος τετάρτου, καὶ ἑτέρων ἕτεροι, κατὰ μακρὸν στοῖχον, ὑπὸ μιᾶς ὁλκοῦ δυνάμεως συνεχόμενοι, πλὴν οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον· ἀεὶ γὰρ οἱ πόρρω τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπηρτημένοι χαλῶνται, διὰ τὸ τὴν ὁλκὴν ἀνίεσθαι μηκέθ' ὁμοίως σφίγγειν δυναμένην. ὅμοιον δή τι πεπονθέναι καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων φαίνεται, καθ' ἑκάστην γενεὰν ἀμυδροτέρας λαμβανόντων τάς τε τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις καὶ ποιότητας.

142 Τὸν δ' ἀρχηγέτην ἐκεῖνον οὐ μόνον πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνον κοσμοπολίτην λέγοντες ἀψευδέστατα ἐροῦμεν· ἦν γὰρ οἶκος αὐτῷ καὶ πόλις ὁ κόσμος, μηδεμιᾶς χειροποιήτου κατασκευῆς δεδημιουργημένης ἐκ λίθων καὶ ξύλων ὕλης, ᾧ καθάπερ ἐν πατρίδι μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας ἐνδιῃτᾶτο, φόβου μὲν ἐκτὸς ὤν, ἅτε τῆς τῶν περιγείων ἡγεμονίας ἀξιωθείς, καὶ πάντων ὅσα θνητὰ κατεπτηχότων καὶ ὑπακούειν ὡς δεσπότῃ δεδιδαγμένων ἢ βιασθέντων, ἐν εὐπαθείαις δὲ ταῖς ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀπολέμῳ ζῶν ἀνεπιλήπτως.

143 L. ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσα πόλις εὔνομος ἔχει πολιτείαν, ἀναγκαίως συνέβαινε τῷ κοσμοπολίτῃ χρῆσθαι πολιτείᾳ ᾗ καὶ σύμπας ὁ κόσμος· αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ὁ τῆς φύσεως ὀρθὸς λόγος, ὃς κυριωτέρᾳ κλήσει προσονομάζεται θεσμός, νόμος θεῖος ὤν, καθ'

[a] See App. p. 476.

from the copies still more so, owing to their long distance from the original. Much the same appears in the case of the magnet: for the iron ring which touches it is held most forcibly, but that which touches this one less so. A third hangs on to the second, and a fourth on to the third, and a fifth on to the fourth, and so on in a long series, all held together by one attracting force, only not all alike, for those removed from the starting-point get looser all the time, owing to the attraction being relaxed and losing its power to grip as it did before. Mankind has evidently undergone something of the same kind. As generation follows generation the powers and qualities of body and soul which men receive are feebler.

If we call that original forefather of our race not only the first man but also the only citizen of the world [a] we shall be speaking with perfect truth. For the world was his city and dwelling-place. No building made by hand had been wrought out of the material of stones and timbers. The world was his mother country where he dwelt far removed from fear, inasmuch as he had been held worthy of the rule of the denizens of the earth, and all things mortal trembled before him, and had been taught or compelled to obey him as their master. So he lived exposed to no attack amid the comforts of peace unbroken by war. L. Now since every well-ordered State has a constitution, the citizen of the world enjoyed of necessity the same constitution as did the whole world: and this constitution is nature's right relation, more properly called an "ordinance," or "dispensation," seeing it is a divine law, in accordance with which there was duly appor-

ὃν τὰ προσήκοντα καὶ ἐπιβάλλοντα ἑκάστοις ἀπενεμήθη. ταύτης τῆς πόλεως καὶ πολιτείας ἔδει τινὰς εἶναι πρὸ ἀνθρώπου πολίτας, οἳ λέγοιντ᾽ ἂν ἐνδίκως μεγαλοπολῖται, τὸν μέγιστον περίβολον οἰκεῖν λαχόντες, καὶ τῷ μεγίστῳ καὶ τελειοτάτῳ
144 πολιτεύματι ἐγγραφέντες. οὗτοι δὲ τίνες ἂν εἶεν ὅτι μὴ λογικαὶ καὶ θεῖαι φύσεις, αἱ μὲν ἀσώματοι καὶ νοηταί, αἱ δὲ οὐκ ἄνευ σωμάτων, ὁποίους συμβέβηκεν εἶναι τοὺς ἀστέρας; οἷς προσομιλῶν καὶ συνδιαιτώμενος εἰκότως ἐν ἀκράτῳ διέτριβεν εὐδαιμονίᾳ· συγγενής τε καὶ ἀγχίσπορος ὢν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ἅτε δὴ πολλοῦ ῥυέντος εἰς αὐτὸν τοῦ θείου πνεύματος, πάντα καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ἐσπούδαζεν εἰς ἀρέσκειαν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ βασιλέως, ἑπόμενος κατ᾽ ἴχνος αὐτῷ ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ἃς λεωφόρους
[35] | ἀνατέμνουσιν ἀρεταί, διότι μόναις ψυχαῖς θέμις προσέρχεσθαι τέλος ἡγουμέναις τὴν πρὸς τὸν γεννήσαντα θεὸν ἐξομοίωσιν.

145 LI. Τοῦ μὲν οὖν πρώτου φύντος ἀνθρώπου τὸ καθ᾽ ἑκάτερον ψυχήν τε καὶ σῶμα κάλλος, εἰ καὶ πολλῷ τῆς ἀληθείας ἔλαττον, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν δύναμιν ὡς οἷόν τε ἦν εἴρηται. τοὺς δ᾽ ἀπογόνους τῆς ἐκείνου μετέχοντας ἰδέας ἀναγκαῖον εἰ καὶ ἀμυδροὺς ἀλλ᾽ οὖν ἔτι σῴζειν τοὺς τύπους τῆς πρὸς τὸν προπάτορα συγγενείας. ἡ δὲ συγ-
146 γένεια τίς; πᾶς ἄνθρωπος κατὰ μὲν τὴν διάνοιαν ᾠκείωται λόγῳ θείῳ, τῆς μακαρίας φύσεως ἐκμαγεῖον ἢ ἀπόσπασμα ἢ ἀπαύγασμα γεγονώς, κατὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ σώματος κατασκευὴν ἅπαντι τῷ κόσμῳ· συγκέκραται γὰρ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν, γῆς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ἀέρος καὶ πυρός, ἑκάστου τῶν στοιχείων εἰσενεγκόντος τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος πρὸς ἐκ-

tioned to all existences that which rightly falls to them severally. This State and polity must have had citizens before man. These might justly be termed people of the Great City, having had allotted to them as their dwelling-place the greatest compass, and having been enrolled in the greatest and most perfect commonwealth. And who should these be but spiritual and divine natures, some incorporeal and visible to mind only, some not without bodies, such as are the stars? Conversing and consorting with these man could not but live in unalloyed bliss, and being of near kin to the Ruler, since the divine Spirit had flowed into him in full current, he earnestly endeavoured in all his words and actions to please the Father and King, following Him step by step in the highways cut out by virtues, since only for souls who regard it as their goal to be fully conformed to God who begat them is it lawful to draw nigh to Him.

LI. Of the beauty of the first-made man in each part of his being, in soul and body, we have now said what falls perhaps far short of the reality but yet what for our powers was possible. It could not but be that his descendants, partaking as they did in the original form in which he was formed, should preserve marks, though faint ones, of their kinship with their first father. Now what is this kinship? Every man, in respect of his mind, is allied to the divine Reason, having come into being as a copy or fragment or ray of that blessed nature, but in the structure of his body he is allied to all the world, for he is compounded of the same things, earth, water, air, and fire, each of the elements having contributed the share that falls to each, to complete

πλήρωσιν αὐταρκεστάτης ὕλης, ἣν ἔδει λαβεῖν τὸν δημιουργόν, ἵνα τεχνιτεύσῃ τὴν ὁρατὴν ταύτην
147 εἰκόνα· καὶ προσέτι πᾶσι τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ὡς οἰκειοτάτοις καὶ συγγενεστάτοις χωρίοις ἐνδιαιτᾶται, τόπους ἀμείβων καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις ἐπιφοιτῶν, ὡς κυριώτατα φάναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον πάντα εἶναι, χερσαῖον, ἔνυδρον, πτηνόν, οὐράνιον· ᾗ μὲν γὰρ οἰκεῖ καὶ βέβηκεν ἐπὶ γῆς, χερσαῖον ζῷόν ἐστιν, ᾗ δὲ δύεται καὶ νήχεται καὶ πλεῖ πολλάκις, ἔνυδρον—ἔμποροι καὶ ναύκληροι καὶ πορφυρεῖς καὶ ὅσοι τὴν ἐπ᾽ ὀστρέοις καὶ ἰχθύσιν ἄγραν μετίασι τοῦ λεχθέντος εἰσὶ σαφεστάτη πίστις—ᾗ δὲ μετέωρον ἀπὸ γῆς ἀνώφοιτον ἐξῆρται τὸ σῶμα, λέγοιτ᾽ ἂν ἐνδίκως ἀεροπόρον εἶναι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ οὐράνιον, διὰ τῆς ἡγεμονικωτάτης τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὄψεως ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων πλανήτων καὶ ἀπλανῶν συνεγγίζων.

148 LII. Παγκάλως δὲ καὶ τὴν θέσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀνῆψε τῷ πρώτῳ (Gen. ii. 19)· σοφίας γὰρ καὶ βασιλείας τὸ ἔργον, σοφὸς δ᾽ ἐκεῖνος αὐτομαθὴς καὶ αὐτοδίδακτος, χερσὶ θείαις γενόμενος, καὶ προσέτι βασιλεύς· ἐμπρεπὲς δ᾽ ἡγεμόνι προσαγορεύειν ἕκαστον τῶν ὑπηκόων. ὑπερβάλλουσα δ᾽
[36] ὡς εἰκὸς | δύναμις ἀρχῆς ἦν περὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἐκεῖνον ἄνθρωπον, ὃν σπουδῇ διαπλάσας ὁ θεὸς ἠξίου δευτερείων, ὕπαρχον μὲν αὐτοῦ, τῶν δ᾽ ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἡγεμόνα τιθείς, ὁπότε καὶ οἱ τοσαύταις γενεαῖς ὕστερον φύντες, ἤδη τοῦ γένους διὰ μακρὰς χρόνων περιόδους ἐξιτήλου ὄντος, οὐδὲν ἧττον ἔτι δεσπόζουσι τῶν ἀλόγων, καθάπερ

a material absolutely sufficient in itself for the Creator to take in order to fashion this visible image. Moreover, man is at home in all the elements named, as in places fully congenial and akin to him, ever changing his sphere and haunting now one, now another of them. Thus we can say with strict propriety that man is all four, as being of land and water and air and sky. For in so far as he dwells and moves upon the ground, he is a land-animal; so far as he often dives and swims and often sails, he is a water-creature—merchants and ship-masters and fishers for purple-fish and oyster-dredgers and fishermen generally are the clearest evidence of what I have said—; so far as his body ascends and is raised aloft from the earth, he would justly be said to be an air-walker. He may besides be said to be heavenly, for by means of sight, the most dominant of his senses, he draws near to sun and moon and each of the other planets and fixed stars.

LII. Quite excellently does Moses ascribe the bestowal of names also to the first man (Gen. ii. 19): for this is the business of wisdom and royalty, and the first man was wise with a wisdom learned from and taught by Wisdom's own lips, for he was made by divine hands; he was, moreover, a king, and it befits a ruler to bestow titles on his several subordinates. And we may guess that the sovereignty with which that first man was invested was a most lofty one, seeing that God had fashioned him with the utmost care and deemed him worthy of the second place, making him His own viceroy and lord of all others. For men born many generations later, when, owing to the lapse of ages, the race had lost its vigour, are none the less still masters of the creatures that are

λαμπάδιον ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου
149 διαδοθὲν φυλάττοντες. φησὶν οὖν ὅτι πάντα τὰ ζῷα ἤγαγεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸς τὸν Ἀδάμ, ἰδεῖν βουλόμενος τίνας θήσεται προσρήσεις ἑκάστοις, οὐχ ὅτι ἐνεδοίαζεν—ἄγνωστον γὰρ οὐδὲν θεῷ—ἀλλ' ὅτι ᾔδει τὴν λογικὴν ἐν θνητῷ φύσιν κατεσκευακὼς αὐτοκίνητον, ὅπως ἀμέτοχος αὐτὸς ᾖ κακίας. ἀπεπειρᾶτο δ' ὡς ὑφηγητὴς γνωρίμου, τὴν ἐνδιάθετον ἕξιν ἀνακινῶν καὶ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν τῶν οἰκείων ἀνακαλῶν ἔργων, ἵν' ἀπαυτοματίσῃ τὰς θέσεις μήτ' ἀνοικείους μήτ' ἀναρμόστους, ἀλλ' ἐμφαινούσας εὖ μάλα τὰς τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἰδιό-
150 τητας. ἀκράτου γὰρ ἔτι τῆς λογικῆς φύσεως ὑπαρχούσης ἐν ψυχῇ, καὶ μηδενὸς ἀρρωστήματος ἢ νοσήματος ἢ πάθους παρεισεληλυθότος, τὰς φαντασίας τῶν σωμάτων καὶ πραγμάτων ἀκραιφνεστάτας λαμβάνων, εὐθυβόλους ἐποιεῖτο τὰς κλήσεις, εὖ μάλα στοχαζόμενος τῶν δηλουμένων, ὡς ἅμα λεχθῆναί τε καὶ νοηθῆναι τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν. οὕτως μὲν ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς καλοῖς διέφερεν ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ πέρας φθάνων τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης εὐδαιμονίας.
151 LIII. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν γενέσει βέβαιον, τροπὰς δὲ καὶ μεταβολὰς ἀναγκαίως τὰ θνητὰ δέχεται, ἐχρῆν καὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον ἀπολαῦσαί τινος κακοπραγίας. ἀρχὴ δὲ τῆς ὑπαιτίου ζωῆς αὐτῷ γίνεται γυνή. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ εἷς ἦν, ὡμοιοῦτο κατὰ τὴν μόνωσιν κόσμῳ καὶ θεῷ, καὶ τῆς ἑκατέρου φύσεως ἐναπεμάττετο τῇ ψυχῇ

[a] See App. p. 476.

without reason, keeping safe a torch[a] (as it were) of sovereignty and dominion passed down from the first man. So Moses says that God brought all the animals to Adam, wishing to see what appellations he would assign to them severally. Not that he was in any doubt—for to God nothing is unknown—but because He knew that He had formed in mortal man the natural ability to reason of his own motion, that so He Himself might have no share in faulty action. No, He was putting man to the test, as a teacher does a pupil, kindling his innate capacity, and calling on him to put forth some faculty of his own, that by his own ability man might confer titles in no wise incongruous or unsuitable, but bringing out clearly the traits of the creatures who bore them. For the native reasoning power in the soul being still unalloyed, and no infirmity or disease or evil affection having intruded itself, he received the impressions made by bodies and objects in their sheer reality, and the titles he gave were fully apposite, for right well did he divine the character of the creatures he was describing, with the result that their natures were apprehended as soon as their names were uttered. So greatly did he excel in all noble traits, thus attaining the very limit of human happiness.

LIII. But since no created thing is constant, and things mortal are necessarily liable to changes and reverses, it could not but be that the first man too should experience some ill fortune. And woman becomes for him the beginning of blameworthy life. For so long as he was by himself, as accorded with such solitude, he went on growing like to the world and like God, and receiving in his soul the impres-

τοὺς χαρακτῆρας, οὐ πάντας ἀλλ' ὅσους χωρῆσαι δυνατὸν θνητὴν σύστασιν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπλάσθη καὶ γυνή, θεασάμενος ἀδελφὸν εἶδος καὶ συγγενῆ μορφὴν ἠσμένισε τῇ θέᾳ καὶ προσιὼν ἠσπάζετο.
152 ἡ δ' οὐδὲν ἐκείνου προσβλέπουσα ζῷον ἐμφερέστερον ἑαυτῇ γάνυταί τε καὶ ἀντιπροσφθέγγεται μετ' αἰδοῦς· ἔρως δ' ἐπιγενόμενος καθάπερ ἑνὸς ζῴου διττὰ τμήματα διεστηκότα συναγαγὼν εἰς ταὐτὸν ἁρμόττεται, πόθον ἐνιδρυσάμενος ἑκατέρῳ τῆς πρὸς θάτερον κοινωνίας εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὁμοίου γένεσιν· ὁ δὲ πόθος οὗτος καὶ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἡδονὴν ἐγέννησεν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἀδικημάτων καὶ
[37] παρανομημάτων | ἀρχή, δι' ἣν ὑπαλλάττονται τὸν θνητὸν καὶ κακοδαίμονα βίον ἀντ' ἀθανάτου καὶ εὐδαίμονος.

153 LIV. Ἔτι δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μονήρη βίον ζῶντος, μήπω διαπλασθείσης τῆς γυναικός, φυτευθῆναι λόγος ἔχει παράδεισον ὑπὸ θεοῦ τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν οὐδὲν προσεοικότα (Gen. ii. 8 f.)· τῶν μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἄψυχος ἡ ὕλη, παντοίων δένδρων κατάπλεως, τῶν μὲν ἀειθαλῶν πρὸς τὴν ὄψεως ἀδιάστατον ἡδονήν, τῶν δὲ ταῖς ἐαριναῖς ὥραις ἡβώντων καὶ βλαστανόντων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἥμερον καρπὸν ἀνθρώποις φερόντων, οὐ πρὸς ἀναγκαίαν μόνον χρῆσιν τροφῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς περιττὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἁβροδιαίτου βίου, τῶν δ' οὐχ ὅμοιον, ὃς ἀναγκαίως θηρίοις ἀπενεμήθη· κατὰ δὲ τὸν θεῖον παράδεισον ἔμψυχα καὶ λογικὰ φυτὰ πάντ' εἶναι συμβέβηκε, καρπὸν φέροντα τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ προσέτι τὴν ἀδιάφθορον σύνεσιν καὶ ἀγχίνοιαν, ᾗ γνωρίζεται τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρά, ζωήν τ' ἄνοσον καὶ

sions made by the nature of each, not all of these, but as many as one of mortal composition can find room for. But when woman too had been made, beholding a figure like his own and a kindred form, he was gladdened by the sight, and approached and greeted her. She, seeing no living thing more like herself than he, is filled with glee and shamefastly returns his greeting. Love supervenes, brings together and fits into one the divided halves, as it were, of a single living creature, and sets up in each of them a desire for fellowship with the other with a view to the production of their like. And this desire begat likewise bodily pleasure, that pleasure which is the beginning of wrongs and violation of law, the pleasure for the sake of which men bring on themselves the life of mortality and wretchedness in lieu of that of immortality and bliss.

LIV. While the man was still leading a life of solitude, the woman not having been yet formed, a park or pleasaunce, we are told, was planted by God, quite unlike the pleasaunces with which we are familiar (Gen. ii. 8 f.) : for in them the wood is soulless ; they are full of trees of all sorts, some everblooming to give uninterrupted joy to the eye, some bursting forth with young life every spring : some again bearing cultivated fruit for man, not only for use by way of necessary nourishment, but also for his superfluities, for the enjoyment of a life of luxury ; while others yield a different kind of fruit, supplied to the wild beasts to satisfy their actual needs. But in the divine park or pleasaunce all plants are endowed with soul or reason, bearing the virtues for fruit, and beside these insight and discernment that never fail, by which things fair and ugly are recog-

ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ πᾶν εἴ τι τούτοις ὁμοιότροπον.
154 ταῦτα δέ μοι δοκεῖ συμβολικῶς μᾶλλον ἢ κυρίως φιλοσοφεῖσθαι· δένδρα γὰρ ἐπὶ γῆς οὔτε πέφηνέ πω πρότερον οὔτ᾿ αὖθις εἰκὸς φανεῖσθαι ζωῆς ἢ συνέσεως· ἀλλ᾿ ὡς ἔοικεν αἰνίττεται διὰ μὲν τοῦ παραδείσου τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγεμονικόν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κατάπλεων οἷα φυτῶν μυρίων ὅσων δοξῶν, διὰ δὲ τοῦ δένδρου τῆς ζωῆς τὴν μεγίστην τῶν ἀρετῶν θεοσέβειαν, δι᾿ ἧς ἀθανατίζεται ἡ ψυχή, διὰ δὲ τοῦ καλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν γνωριστικοῦ φρόνησιν τὴν μέσην, ᾗ διακρίνεται τἀναντία
155 φύσει. LV. θέμενος δὲ τούτους τοὺς ὅρους ἐν ψυχῇ καθάπερ δικαστὴς ἐσκόπει, πρὸς πότερον ἐπικλινῶς ἕξει. ὡς δὲ εἶδε ῥέπουσαν μὲν ἐπὶ πανουργίαν, εὐσεβείας δὲ καὶ ὁσιότητος ὀλιγωροῦσαν, ἐξ ὧν ἡ ἀθάνατος ζωὴ περιγίνεται, προὐβάλετο κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς καὶ ἐφυγάδευσεν ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου, μηδ᾿ ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰσαῦθις ἐπανόδου δυσίατα καὶ ἀθεράπευτα πλημμελούσῃ ψυχῇ παρασχών, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ τῆς ἀπάτης πρόφασις ἐπίληπτος ἦν οὐ μετρίως, ἣν οὐκ ἄξιον παρα-
156 σιωπῆσαι. λέγεται τὸ παλαιὸν τὸ ἰοβόλον καὶ γηγενὲς ἑρπετὸν [ὄφις] ἀνθρώπου φωνὴν προΐεσθαι, καί ποτε προσελθὸν τῇ τοῦ πρώτου φύντος ἀνδρὸς γυναικὶ τῆς βραδυτῆτος καὶ τῆς ἄγαν εὐλαβείας ὀνειδίσαι, διότι μέλλει καὶ ὑπερτίθεται πάγκαλον ὀφθῆναι καὶ ἥδιστον ἀπολαυσθῆναι καρπὸν δρέπεσθαι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὠφελιμώτατον, ᾧ δυνήσεται γνωρίζειν ἀγαθά τε αὖ καὶ κακά·

[a] Or "the cause of their deception," *i.e.* the serpent, Pleasure.

nized, and life free from disease, and incorruption, and all that is of a like nature. This description is, I think, intended symbolically rather than literally; for never yet have trees of life or of understanding appeared on earth, nor is it likely that they will appear hereafter. No, Moses evidently signifies by the pleasaunce the ruling power of the soul which is full of countless opinions, as it might be of plants; and by the tree of life he signifies reverence toward God, the greatest of the virtues, by means of which the soul attains to immortality; while by the tree that is cognisant of good and evil things he signifies moral prudence, the virtue that occupies the middle position, and enables us to distinguish things by nature contrary the one to the other. LV. Having set up these standards in the soul, He watched, as a judge might, to see to which it would tend. And when He saw it inclining to wickedness, and making light of holiness and godly fear, out of which comes the winning of immortal life, He cast it forth, as we might expect, and drove it from the pleasaunce, giving the soul which committed offences that defy the healer's skill, no hope of a subsequent return, inasmuch as the reason given for their deception [a] was in a high degree blameworthy. This we must not leave unexplained. It is said that in olden time the venomous earthborn crawling thing could send forth a man's voice, and that one day it approached the wife of the first man and upbraided her for her irresoluteness and excessive scrupulosity in delaying and hesitating to pluck a fruit most beauteous to behold and most luscious to taste, and most useful into the bargain, since by its means she would have power to recognize

τὴν δὲ ἀνεξετάστως, ἀπὸ γνώμης ἀβεβαίου καὶ
[38] ἀνιδρύτου συναινέσασαν, ἐμφαγεῖν | τοῦ καρποῦ
καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ μεταδοῦναι—καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξαπιναίως
ἀμφοτέρους ἐξ ἀκακίας καὶ ἁπλότητος ἠθῶν εἰς
πανουργίαν μετέβαλεν—· ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν πατέρα
χαλεπήναντα—ἡ γὰρ πρᾶξις ὀργῆς ἀξία, ἐπεὶ
παρελθόντες τὸ ζωῆς ἀθανάτου φυτόν, τὴν ἀρετῆς
παντέλειαν, ὑφ' ἧς μακραίωνα καὶ εὐδαίμονα βίον
ἐδύναντο καρποῦσθαι, τὸν ἐφήμερον καὶ θνητὸν
οὐ βίον ἀλλὰ χρόνον κακοδαιμονίας μεστὸν εἵλοντο
—κολάσεις ὁρίσαι κατ' αὐτῶν τὰς προσηκούσας.

157 LVI. Ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα οὐ μύθου πλάσματα, οἷς
τὸ ποιητικὸν καὶ σοφιστικὸν χαίρει γένος, ἀλλὰ
δείγματα τύπων ἐπ' ἀλληγορίαν παρακαλοῦντα
κατὰ τὰς δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἀποδόσεις. ἑπόμενος δέ
τις εἰκότι στοχασμῷ φήσει προσηκόντως τὸν
εἰρημένον ὄφιν ἡδονῆς εἶναι σύμβολον, ὅτι πρῶτον
μὲν ζῷον ἄπουν ἐστὶ καὶ πρηνὲς πεπτωκὸς ἐπὶ
γαστέρα, δεύτερον δ' ὅτι γῆς βώλοις σιτίῳ χρῆται,
τρίτον δ' ὅτι τὸν ἰὸν ἐπιφέρεται τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν, ᾧ
158 τοὺς δηχθέντας ἀναιρεῖν πέφυκεν. οὐδενὸς δὲ
τῶν λεχθέντων ὁ φιλήδονος ἀμοιρεῖ· μόλις τε
γὰρ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπαίρει βαρυνόμενος καὶ καθελκόμενος, ἐκτραχηλιζούσης καὶ ὑποσκελιζούσης
τῆς ἀκρασίας· σιτεῖταί τε οὐκ οὐράνιον τροφήν,
ἣν ὀρέγει τοῖς φιλοθεάμοσι διὰ λόγων καὶ δογμάτων
σοφία, τὴν δ' ἀναδιδομένην ἐκ γῆς κατὰ τὰς
ἐτησίους ὥρας, ἐξ ἧς οἰνοφλυγίαι καὶ ὀψοφαγίαι

things good and evil. It is said that she, without looking into the suggestion, prompted by a mind devoid of steadfastness and firm foundation, gave her consent and ate of the fruit, and gave some of it to her husband ; this instantly brought them out of a state of simplicity and innocence into one of wickedness : whereat the Father in anger appointed for them the punishments that were fitting. For their conduct well merited wrath, inasmuch as they had passed by the tree of life immortal, the consummation of virtue, from which they could have gathered an existence long and happy. Yet they chose that fleeting and mortal existence which is not an existence but a period of time full of misery.

LVI. Now these are no mythical fictions, such as poets and sophists delight in, but modes of making ideas visible, bidding us resort to allegorical interpretation guided in our renderings by what lies beneath the surface. Following a probable conjecture one would say that the serpent spoken of is a fit symbol of pleasure, because in the first place he is an animal without feet sunk prone upon his belly ; secondly because he takes clods of earth as food ; thirdly because he carries in his teeth the venom with which it is his nature to destroy those whom he has bitten. The lover of pleasure is exempt from none of these traits, for he is so weighted and dragged downwards that it is with difficulty that he lifts up his head, thrown down and tripped up by intemperance : he feeds not on heavenly nourishment, which wisdom by discourses and doctrines proffers to lovers of contemplation, but on that which comes up out of the earth with the revolving seasons, and which produces drunkenness, daintiness, and greedi-

καὶ λαιμαργίαι, <αἳ> τὰς γαστρὸς ἐπιθυμίας
προσαναρρηγνῦσαι καὶ ἀναρριπίζουσαι [καὶ ἀνδρα-
ποδίζουσαι] πρὸς γαστριμαργίαν συναύξουσι καὶ
ἀναρρηγνύουσι καὶ τοὺς ὑπογαστρίους οἴστρους·
σιτοπόνων τε γὰρ καὶ ὀψαρτυτῶν κάματον ἐπι-
λιχνεύει, καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἡδυσμάτων κνίσσης
ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν περιάγων[a] μεταλαμβάνειν
[τῆς εἰδεχθείας] ὀρέγεται, καὶ ὁπότε πολυτελῆ
τράπεζαν θεάσαιτο, καταβαλὼν αὑτὸν ὅλον ἐπὶ
τὰ εὐτρεπισθέντα ἐκχεῖται, πάντων ἀθρόων σπου-
δάζων ἐμφορεῖσθαι, τέλος οὐ κόρον ἀλλὰ τὸ μηδὲν
ὑπολείπεσθαι τῶν εὐτρεπισθέντων ποιούμενος.
ὅθεν οὐχ ἧττον ὄφεως ἐν τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν ἐπιφέρεται
159 τὸν ἰόν· οὗτοι γάρ εἰσιν ἀπληστίας ὑπηρέται καὶ
ὑπουργοί, πάνθ' ὅσα πρὸς ἐδωδὴν τέμνοντές τε
καὶ λεαίνοντες, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον γλώττῃ παρα-
διδόντες τῇ χυλοὺς δικαζούσῃ πρὸς ἐπίκρισιν,
[39] ἔπειτα δὲ φάρυγγι· | σιτίων δὲ ἀμετρία θανατῶδες
φύσει καὶ ἰοβόλον, ἅτε πέψιν οὐκ ἐνδεχομένων
διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐπεισιόντων φοράν, ᾗ γίνεται πρὶν
160 ἐξικμασθῆναι τὰ πρότερα. φωνὴν δ' ἀνθρώπειον
ὄφις λέγεται προΐεσθαι, διότι μυρίοις ὑπερμάχοις
καὶ προαγωνισταῖς ἡδονὴ χρῆται τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν
καὶ προστασίαν αὐτῆς ἀνειληφόσιν, οἳ τολμῶσιν
ἀναδιδάσκειν ὅτι πάντων τὸ κράτος ἀνῆπται
μικρῶν τε καὶ μεγάλων, οὐδενὸς ὑπεξῃρημένου τὸ
161 παράπαν. LVII. ἀλλ' αἵ τε πρῶται
τοῦ ἄρρενος πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ σύνοδοι ξεναγὸν ἔχουσιν
ἡδονήν, αἵ τε σποραὶ καὶ γενέσεις διὰ ταύτης
συνίστανται, τά τε γεννώμενα οὐδενὶ πρῶτον

[a] *Cf. De Somniis* i. 49 ἐν κύκλῳ <κινῶν> περιάγει τὴν κεφαλήν.

ness. These, causing the cravings of the belly to burst out and fanning them into flame, make the man a glutton, while they also stimulate and stir up the stings of his sexual lusts. For he licks his lips over the labour of caterers and confectioners, and twisting his head [a] about all round strains to catch some of the steam and savour of the delicacies. Whenever he beholds a richly spread table, he flings down his whole person and tumbles upon the dishes set out, eager to devour all at once. His aim is not to sate his hunger, but to leave nothing that has been set before him undevoured. Hence we see that no less than the serpent he carries his poison in his teeth. These are the agents and ministers of excess, cutting and chewing all eatables, handing them over first to the tongue, the judge of savours, for its decision, then to the gullet. Immoderate eating is by its nature deadly and poisonous, for what is eaten has no chance of being assimilated, owing to the rush of the fresh viands which takes place before those already swallowed have been digested. Again the serpent is said to emit a human voice.[b] This is because pleasure employs ten thousand champions and defenders, who have undertaken to look after her and stand up for her, and who dare to spread the doctrine that she has assumed universal sovereignty over small and great, and that no one whatever is exempt therefrom. LVII. And certainly the first approaches of the male to the female have pleasure to guide and conduct them, and it is through pleasure that begetting and the coming of life is brought about, and the offspring is

[b] See App. p. 476.

οἰκειοῦσθαι πέφυκεν ἢ ταύτῃ, χαίροντα μὲν ἡδονῇ, τὴν δ᾿ ἐναντίαν ἀλγηδόνα δυσχεραίνοντα· παρὸ καὶ ἀνακλαίεται τὸ βρέφος ἀποκυηθέν, ἀλγῆσαν ὡς εἰκὸς τῇ περιψύξει· ἐκ γὰρ θερμοτάτου καὶ πυρωδεστάτου χωρίου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν μήτραν, ᾧ πολὺν χρόνον ἐνδιῃτήθη, προελθὸν ἐξαπιναίως εἰς ἀέρα, ψυχρὸν καὶ ἀσυνήθη τόπον, ἐπλήχθη καὶ τῆς ὀδύνης καὶ τοῦ δυσχεραίνειν ἀλγηδόνι τὰ κλαύματα δεῖγμα παρέσχεν ἐναρ-
162 γέστατον. σπεύδει τε, φασί, πᾶν ζῷον ὡς ἐπ᾿ ἀναγκαιότατον καὶ συνεκτικώτατον τέλος ἡδονὴν καὶ μάλιστα ἄνθρωπος· τὰ μὲν γὰρ διὰ γεύσεως μόνον καὶ τῶν γεννητικῶν ἐφίεται ταύτης, ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος καὶ διὰ τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων, ὅσα θεάματα ἢ ἀκούσματα τέρψιν δύναται παρασχεῖν
163 ὠσὶ καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖς μεταδιώκων. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα παμπληθῆ πρὸς ἔπαινον τοῦ πάθους καὶ ὡς ἔστιν οἰκειότατον καὶ συγγενέστατον ζῴοις· LVIII. ἀπόχρη δὲ δείγματος ἕνεκα καὶ τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα, ὧν χάριν ἀνθρωπίνην φωνὴν ἔδοξεν ὁ ὄφις προΐεσθαι. διό μοι δοκεῖ κἀν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος νόμοις, οὗ περὶ ζῴων ἔγραψεν ἅ τε χρὴ προσφέρεσθαι καὶ τοὐναντίον, ἐπαινέσαι μάλιστα τὸν ὀφιομάχην ἐπικαλούμενον (Lev. xi. 22) —ἑρπετὸν δ᾿ ἐστὶν ἔχον ἀνωτέρω σκέλη τῶν ποδῶν, οἷς ἀπὸ γῆς πέφυκε πηδᾶν καὶ μετέωρον
164 αἴρεσθαι καθάπερ τὸ τῶν ἀκρίδων γένος—· ὁ γὰρ ὀφιομάχης οὐδὲν ἄλλ᾿ ἢ συμβολικῶς ἐγκράτεια εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ, μάχην ἀκαθαίρετον καὶ πόλεμον ἄσπονδον ἐκφέρουσα πρὸς ἀκρασίαν καὶ ἡδονήν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ εὐτέλειαν καὶ ὀλιγοδεΐαν καὶ ὅσον ἀναγκαῖον φιλαυστήρῳ καὶ σεμνῷ βίῳ διαφερόντως

naturally at home with nothing sooner than pleasure, delighting in it and feeling distress at pain its contrary. This is why the infant when born actually weeps aloud, chilled most likely by the cold all round it; for when, leaving a place of fiery warmth in the womb, which for a long time it has tenanted, it suddenly issues into the air, a cold and unaccustomed place, it is taken aback and utters cries, a most clear sign of its pain and its annoyance at suffering. And they tell us that every living creature hastens after pleasure as its most necessary and essential end, and man above all: for while other creatures seek pleasure only through taste and the organs of reproduction, man does so through the other senses as well, pursuing with ears and eyes all such sights and sounds as can afford delight. A very great deal more is said in praise of pleasure, and of the great closeness of its connexion and kinship with living creatures. LVIII. But what has now been said is enough to show why the serpent seemed to utter a human voice. It is for this reason, I think, that even in the detailed laws, where the lawgiver writes about animals, laying down which may be eaten and which may not, he especially praises the "snake-fighter" as it is called (Lev. xi. 22). This is a reptile with legs above its feet, with which it springs from the ground and lifts itself into the air like a grasshopper. For the snake-fighter is, I think, nothing but a symbolic representation of self-control, waging a fight that never ends and a truceless war against intemperance and pleasure. Self-control welcomes beyond measure simplicity and abstemiousness and so much as is requisite for a severe and lofty mode of life;

ἀσπάζεται, ἡ δὲ περιεργίαν καὶ πολυτέλειαν, ἃ χλιδῆς καὶ θρύψεως αἴτια γίνεται ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι, δι' ὧν τὴν ὑπαίτιον καὶ θανάτου χαλεπωτέραν ζωὴν παρὰ τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι συμβέβηκε γίνεσθαι.

165 LIX. Τὰς δὲ γοητείας καὶ ἀπάτας αὐτῆς ἡδονὴ τῷ μὲν ἀνδρὶ οὐ τολμᾷ προσφέρειν, τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ [40] καὶ | διὰ ταύτης ἐκείνῳ, πάνυ προσφυῶς καὶ εὐθυβόλως· ἐν ἡμῖν γὰρ ἀνδρὸς μὲν ἔχει λόγον ὁ νοῦς, γυναικὸς δ' αἴσθησις· ἡδονὴ δὲ προτέραις ἐντυγχάνει καὶ ἐνομιλεῖ ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι, δι' ὧν καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν φενακίζει· ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ἑκάστη τῶν αἰσθήσεων τοῖς φίλτροις αὐτῆς ὑπαχθῇ, χαίρουσαι τοῖς προτεινομένοις, ἐπὶ χρωμάτων μὲν καὶ σχημάτων ποικιλίαις ὄψις, ἐπὶ δὲ φωνῶν ἐμμελείαις ἀκοή, ἐν δὲ χυλῶν ἡδύτησι γεῦσις, κἀν ταῖς τῶν ἀναθυμιωμένων ἀτμῶν εὐωδίαις ὄσφρησις, δεξάμεναι τὰ δῶρα θεραπαινίδων τρόπον προσφέρουσιν οἷα δεσπότῃ τῷ λογισμῷ, παράκλητον ἐπαγόμεναι πειθὼ περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ἀπώσασθαι τὸ παράπαν· ὁ δ' αὐτίκα δελεασθεὶς ὑπήκοος ἀνθ' ἡγεμόνος καὶ δοῦλος ἀντὶ δεσπότου καὶ ἀντὶ πολίτου φυγὰς καὶ θνητὸς

166 ἀντ' ἀθανάτου γίνεται. συνόλως γὰρ οὐκ ἀγνοητέον ὅτι, οἷα ἑταιρὶς καὶ μαχλὰς οὖσα, ἡδονὴ γλίχεται τυχεῖν ἐραστοῦ καὶ μαστροποὺς ἀναζητεῖ, δι' ὧν τοῦτον ἀγκιστρεύσεται· μαστροπεύουσι δ' αὐτῇ καὶ προξενοῦσι τὸν ἐρῶντα αἰσθήσεις, ἃς δελεάσασα ῥᾳδίως ὑπηγάγετο τὸν νοῦν, ᾧ τὰ φανέντα ἐκτὸς εἴσω κομίζουσαι διαγγέλλουσι καὶ ἐπιδείκνυνται, τοὺς τύπους ἑκάστων ἐνσφραγιζόμεναι, καὶ τὸ ὅμοιον ἐνεργαζόμεναι πάθος·

intemperance gives a like welcome to superfluity and extravagance, which induce softness and voluptuousness in soul and body, and these result in the culpable life, the life that in the view of right-minded people is worse than death.

LIX. Pleasure does not venture to bring her wiles and deceptions to bear on the man, but on the woman, and by her means on him. This is a telling and well-made point: for in us mind corresponds to man, the senses to woman; and pleasure encounters and holds parley with the senses first, and through them cheats with her quackeries the sovereign mind itself: for when each sense has been subjugated to her sorceries, delighting in what she proffers, the sense of sight in variegated colours and shapes, that of hearing in harmonious sounds, that of taste in delicate savours, and that of scent in the fragrance of perfumes which it inhales, then all of them receive the gifts and offer them like handmaids to the Reason as to a master, bringing with them Persuasion to plead that it reject nothing whatever. Reason is forthwith ensnared and becomes a subject instead of a ruler, a slave instead of a master, an alien instead of a citizen, and a mortal instead of an immortal. In a word we must never lose sight of the fact that Pleasure, being a courtesan and a wanton, eagerly desires to meet with a lover, and searches for panders, by whose means she shall get one on her hook. It is the senses that act as panders for her and procure the lover. When she has ensnared these she easily brings the Mind under her control. To it, dwelling within us, the senses convey the things seen without, reporting them fully and making them manifest, impressing on it the forms of the several objects, and producing in it

κηρῷ γὰρ ἐοικὼς δέχεται τὰς διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων φαντασίας, αἷς τὰ σώματα καταλαμβάνει δι' αὑτοῦ μὴ δυνάμενος, καθάπερ εἶπον ἤδη.

167 LX. Τὰ δ' ἐπίχειρα τῆς ἡδονῆς εὐθὺς εὕραντο οἱ πρῶτοι γενόμενοι δοῦλοι χαλεποῦ καὶ δυσιάτου πάθους· ἡ μὲν γυνὴ σφοδρὰς ἀνίας ἐνδεξαμένη τὰς ἐν ὠδῖσι, καὶ τὰς παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον βίον λύπας ἐπαλλήλους, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς ἐπὶ τέκνοις γεννωμένοις καὶ τρεφομένοις καὶ νοσοῦσι καὶ ὑγιαίνουσι καὶ εὐτυχοῦσι καὶ ἀτυχοῦσιν, εἶτ' ἀφαίρεσιν ἐλευθερίας καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνόντος ἀνδρὸς δεσποτείαν, οὗ τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασι πειθαρχεῖν ἀναγκαῖον· ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ ἐν μέρει πόνους καὶ ταλαιπωρίας καὶ συνεχεῖς ἱδρῶτας ἕνεκα πορισμοῦ τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ στέρησιν μὲν τῶν αὐτομάτων ἀγαθῶν, ἅπερ ἐδιδάχθη φέρειν ἡ γῆ δίχα γεωργικῆς ἐπιστήμης, ἀτρύτων δὲ μετουσίαν καμάτων εἰς ζήτησιν βίου καὶ τροφῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ λιμῷ παραπολέσθαι·
168 οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν ὥσπερ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην ἀεὶ φωσφορεῖν ἅπαξ κελευσθέντας ἅμα τῇ πρώτῃ γενέσει τοῦ παντός, καὶ τὸ θεῖον πρόσταγμα διατηρεῖν
[41] οὐδενὸς ἑτέρου χάριν ἢ ὅτι | τῶν ὅρων οὐρανοῦ μακρὰν κακία πεφυγάδευται· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τῆς γῆς τὴν βαθεῖαν καὶ καρποφόρον, ἄνευ τέχνης καὶ συμπράξεως γεωπόνων ἀνδρῶν, φέρειν ἂν πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν κατὰ τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας. νυνὶ δὲ αἱ ἀέναοι πηγαὶ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χαρίτων ἐπεσχέθησαν, ὅτε ἤρξατο κακία τὰς ἀρετὰς

the corresponding affection. For it resembles wax, and receives the images that reach it through the senses, by which it apprehends material substances, being incapable, as I have said before, of doing this by itself.

LX. Those who were the first to become slaves to a passion grievous and hard to heal at once had experience of the wages paid by Pleasure. The woman incurred the violent woes of travail-pangs, and the griefs which come one after another all through the remainder of life. Chief among them are all those that have to do with children at birth and in their bringing up, in sickness and in health, in good fortune and evil fortune. In the next place she tasted deprivation of liberty, and the authority of the husband at her side, whose commands she must perforce obey. The man, in his turn, incurred labours and distress in the unceasing sweat of his brow to gain the necessaries of life. He was without those good things which the earth had been taught to bear of itself independently of all skill in the husbandman. His life was spent in unbroken toils in the pursuit of food and livelihood to save him from perishing by famine. For I imagine that, just as sun and moon always give their light after once for all being bidden to do so when the universe was first created, and continue to keep the divine ordinance for no other reason than that evil has been sent into exile far away from heaven's frontiers; even so would earth's deep and fertile soil, unaided by the skill of agricultural labourers, bear rich abundance as the seasons come round. As it is, when evil began to get the better of the virtues, the ever-flowing springs of the bounties of God were closed, that they might not

παρευημερεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ὡς ἀναξίοις χορηγῶσιν.
169 ἔδει μὲν οὖν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, εἰ τὴν ἁρμόττουσαν ἔμελλε δίκην ὑπομένειν, ἠφανίσθαι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα θεὸν ἀχαριστίαν· ὁ δ', ἅτε τὴν φύσιν ἵλεως, οἶκτον λαβὼν ἐμετρίασε τὴν τιμωρίαν, τὸ μὲν γένος ἐάσας διαμένειν, τὰς δὲ τροφὰς οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἐξ ἑτοίμου παρασχών, ἵνα μὴ δυσὶ κακοῖς, ἀργίᾳ καὶ κόρῳ, χρώμενοι πλημμελῶσι καὶ ὑβρίζωσι.
170 LXI. τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ βίος τῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἀκακίᾳ καὶ ἁπλότητι χρωμένων, αὖθις δὲ κακίαν ἀντ' ἀρετῆς προτιμώντων.

Διὰ δὲ τῆς λεχθείσης κοσμοποιίας πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἡμᾶς ἀναδιδάσκει, πέντε δὲ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ πάντων ἄριστα· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἔστι τὸ θεῖον καὶ ὑπάρχει, διὰ τοὺς ἀθέους, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἐνεδοίασαν ἐπαμφοτερίσαντες περὶ τῆς ὑπάρξεως αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ τολμηρότεροι καὶ κατεθρασύναντο φάμενοι μηδ' ὅλως εἶναι, λέγεσθαι δ' αὐτὸ μόνον πρὸς ἀνθρώπων πλάσμασι μυθικοῖς
171 ἐπισκιασάντων τὴν ἀλήθειαν· δεύτερον δ' ὅτι θεὸς εἷς ἐστι, διὰ τοὺς εἰσηγητὰς τῆς πολυθέου δόξης, οἳ οὐκ ἐρυθριῶσι τὴν φαυλοτάτην τῶν κακοπολιτειῶν ὀχλοκρατίαν ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν μετοικίζοντες· τρίτον δ' ὡς ἤδη λέλεκται ὅτι γενητὸς ὁ κόσμος, διὰ τοὺς οἰομένους αὐτὸν ἀγένητον καὶ ἀίδιον εἶναι, οἳ πλέον οὐδὲν ἀπονέμουσι θεῷ· τέταρτον δ' ὅτι καὶ εἷς ἐστιν ὁ κόσμος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ εἷς ὁ δημιουργὸς <ὁ> ἐξομοιώσας αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν μόνωσιν τὸ ἔργον,

bring supplies to those felt to be undeserving of them. If the human race had had to undergo the fitting penalty, it must needs have been wiped out by reason of its ingratitude to God its benefactor and preserver. But He being merciful took pity on it and moderated the punishment, suffering the race to continue, but no longer as before supplying it with food ready to its hand, that men might not, by indulging the twin evils of idleness and satiety, wax insolent in wrong-doing. LXI. Such is the life of those who at the outset are in enjoyment of innocence and simplicity of character, but later on prefer vice to virtue.

By his account of the creation of the world of which we have spoken Moses teaches us among many other things five that are fairest and best of all. Firstly that the Deity is and has been from eternity. This with a view to atheists, some of whom have hesitated and have been of two minds about His eternal existence, while the bolder sort have carried their audacity to the point of declaring that the Deity does not exist at all, but that it is a mere assertion of men obscuring the truth with myth and fiction. Secondly, that God is one. This with a view to the propounders of polytheism, who do not blush to transfer from earth to heaven mob-rule, that worst of evil polities. Thirdly, as I have said already, that the world came into being. This because of those who think that it is without beginning and eternal, who thus assign to God no superiority at all. Fourthly, that the world too is one as well as its Maker, who made His work like Himself in its uniqueness, who

ὃς ἁπάσῃ κατεχρήσατο τῇ ὕλῃ εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου γένεσιν· ὅλον γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἦν, εἰ μὴ ἐξ ὅλων ἐπάγη καὶ συνέστη τῶν μερῶν. εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ πλείους ὑπολαμβάνοντες εἶναι κόσμους, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπείρους, ἄπειροι καὶ ἀνεπιστήμονες αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄντες ὧν καλὸν ἐπιστήμην ἔχειν·

πέμπτον δ' ὅτι καὶ προνοεῖ τοῦ κόσμου ὁ θεός· ἐπιμελεῖσθαι γὰρ ἀεὶ τὸ πεποιηκὸς
172 τοῦ γενομένου φύσεως νόμοις καὶ θεσμοῖς ἀναγ-
[42] καῖον, καθ' οὓς καὶ γονεῖς τέκνων | προμηθοῦνται.

ὁ δὴ ταῦτα μὴ ἀκοῇ μᾶλλον ἢ διανοίᾳ προμαθὼν καὶ ἐν τῇ αὑτοῦ ψυχῇ σφραγισάμενος θαυμάσια καὶ περιμάχητα εἴδη, καὶ ὅτι ἔστι καὶ ὑπάρχει θεὸς καὶ ὅτι εἷς ὁ ὢν ὄντως ἐστὶ καὶ ὅτι πεποίηκε τὸν κόσμον καὶ πεποίηκεν ἕνα, ὡς ἐλέχθη, κατὰ τὴν μόνωσιν ἐξομοιώσας ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ὅτι ἀεὶ προνοεῖ τοῦ γεγονότος, μακαρίαν καὶ εὐδαίμονα ζωὴν βιώσεται, δόγμασιν εὐσεβείας καὶ ὁσιότητος χαραχθείς.

[a] See App. p. 476.

used up for the creation of the whole all the material that exists ; for it would not have been a whole had it not been formed and consisted of parts that were wholes. For there are those who suppose that there are more worlds than one, while some think that they are infinite in number. Such men are themselves in very deed infinitely lacking in knowledge of things which it is right good to know.[a] Fifthly, that God also exercises forethought on the world's behalf. For that the Maker should care for the thing made is required by the laws and ordinances of Nature, and it is in accordance with these that parents take thought beforehand for children.

He that has begun by learning these things with his understanding rather than with his hearing, and has stamped on his soul impressions of truths so marvellous and priceless, both that God is and is from eternity, and that He that really IS is One, and that He has made the world and has made it one world, unique as Himself is unique, and that He ever exercises forethought for His creation, will lead a life of bliss and blessedness, because he has a character moulded by the truths that piety and holiness enforce.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION OF GENESIS II., III.
(LEGUM ALLEGORIA)

ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION TO BOOK I.

In 1-18 Philo deals with Gen. ii. 1-3, which tells first of the completion of Heaven and Earth. He takes these to mean the originals of Mind and Sense-perception, and bases on the Greek version a contrast between the numbers 6 and 7, making the former represent things earthly, and the latter things heavenly.

In Gen. ii. 2 he finds the origin of Mind and Sense-perception ascribed first to a Book and then to a Day, both Book and Day signifying the Mind or Reason of God. (19-21.)

In the repetition of the word "field" in Gen. ii. 5, he sees two fields yielding, respectively, what is intellectually and what is sensibly perceptible: in the rain the power given to the senses of apprehending objects presented to them, a power not needed when material objects did not exist, and in whose absence the Mind is without employment. (22-27.)

Gen. ii. 6 tells how Mind, the "spring," waters the senses, "the face of the earth," and shows the interdependence of Mind, Sense-perception, and object of sense, and the dependence of Mind on God; as well as the superiority of the living creature in being able to take in and go out to external object. (28-30.)

Going on to Gen. ii. 7, he contrasts the earthy man, moulded of clay by the Divine Artificer, with the heavenly Man, stamped with the image of God, and dwells on the change wrought in the former by the inbreathing of Life. He then answers four questions.

To the question why the Divine Breath is given, *not* to the heavenly, but to the earthy Man, he answers (*a*) that God loves to give, even to the imperfect ; (*b*) that the inbreathing is on a par with the enjoining of a " positive " duty, which is a duty only because it is enjoined.

To the question as to the meaning of " inbreathed " he answers that it is a pregnant term for " inspired," and that its aim is to enable us to conceive of God.

To the question why the inbreathing is " into the face," he answers (*a*) that the face is the part where the senses are chiefly situated ; (*b*) that the face represents the mind, which acts as God's deputy in inspiring organs and senses. Such was Moses to Pharaoh. He is thus led to speak of God's use of agents. Lastly, he says that πνοή intimates a less powerful gift than would have been intimated by πνεῦμα. (31-42.)

We now come to Gen. ii. 8. God planting a Garden shows earthly wisdom to be a copy of heavenly wisdom, for it means God causing excellence to strike root on earth. The " Garden " is Virtue. " Eden " tells of its luxuriant yield of happiness. It is " toward the sunrising," for right reason or virtue ever rises to dispel darkness. Man is placed in the Garden " to tend it," *i.e.* to give his whole mind to virtue.

God planting does not justify man in planting a grove by the altar, which is forbidden in Deut. xvi. 21, for (*a*) man cannot, like God, plant virtues in the soul; (*b*) a grove contains some wild trees; (*c*) what is prohibited is planting "to ourselves" (*cf.* 2nd Commandment).

It is somewhat startling to be told that the Man placed in the Garden in Gen. ii. 15 is *not* the Man of Gen. ii. 8, but the Man of Gen. i. 27. Only the latter can till and guard the virtues. The former sees them only to be driven from them. The one is "made," the other is "moulded." The Man of ii. 8 has but facility in *apprehending* (as is signified by the words "placed in the Garden"). The Man of ii. 15 has also persistence in *doing* ("to till it"), and tenacity in *keeping* ("to guard it"). (43-55.)

Gen. ii. 9 tells of the Trees, which are particular virtues, and their activities. Theoretical virtue is denoted by "fair to behold"; practical virtue by "good for food." The Tree of Life is goodness, virtue, *not* (as physicians might suppose) the heart. It is "in the midst of the Garden." Where "the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil" is, we are not told. *Actually* it is in the Garden, *virtually* outside it, for our dominant part is actually in God's Garden through receiving the impress of goodness, virtually outside by receiving that of wickedness. Just so, my body can be here, my mind elsewhere. (56-62.)

The theme of Gen. ii. 10-14 is the Rivers. The four Rivers are the particular Virtues, effluxes of generic Virtue, the River that issues from "Eden," which is the Wisdom or Reason of God. "Heads" implies the sovereignty of the Virtues: "separated";

their limited, defining, action. "Pheison" is Prudence, God's fairest treasure, gleaming like gold, and encircling "Evilat" or Graciousness. "Geon" is Courage, beleaguering Ethiopia, which is Lowness or Cowardice. "Tigris" is Self-mastery, set against "Assyria," the directing force claimed by Desire. Prudence, Courage, and Self-mastery occupy places in the soul corresponding to their spheres of action in the body, head, breast, and abdomen, the seats of Reason, High Spirit, and Lust. "Euphrates" (= fruitfulness) is Justice, or the harmony of the three parts of the soul.

We are then shown another way of reaching the same truth about the four Rivers. "Pheison" signifies "change of mouth," *i.e.* transformation of speech into action, the true sign of Prudence. "Evilat" signifies "in travail," as Folly in its futility always is. (63-76.)

The next eight sections (Gen. ii. 12) are a Note on the Gold and Precious Stones. Prudence, the gold, is still God's, Philo taking "where" (οὗ) as "whose". "The gold of that land" is *universal*, as distinguished from *particular*, Prudence, and to it belongs the epithet "good." The "ruby" and the "emerald" represent respectively having and exercising good sense. Or the two stones are, perhaps, Judah and Issachar, representing, the one, thankfulness, the other, noble deeds. So in the High-priestly robes, the ruby must, from its position, have borne the name of Judah, and the sapphire that of Issachar. "Stone" is not added after "ruby," because praise and thanksgiving lift a man out of himself and all that is of earth. Red befits Judah, green Issachar. (77-84.)

Now comes a short Note on Compassing (Gen. ii. 11 and 13). "Pheison" and "Geon" are said to "compass" countries, for Prudence and Courage enclose and capture Folly and Cowardice. "Tigris" is said to be "over against the Assyrians," for Self-mastery can but face and fight Pleasure. "Euphrates," or Justice, neither encircles nor withstands but makes awards. (85-87).

In 88 f. we see the heavenly Man, the Man whom God had "made" not "moulded," placed in the garden. This pure and less material Mind is set amid the Virtues ("plants") to practise ("till") and remember ("guard") them.

The remainder of the treatise deals with the injunction to "Adam" in Gen. ii. 16 ff.

Since "Adam," a name *not* self-imposed, signifies "earth," probably the "moulded, earthy man" is meant. Moreover the heavenly Man needs no injunction to till and guard; still less does he need prohibition or exhortation.

The command is given by "the Lord God." Obedience to the "Lord" or 'Master' prepares us for boons from "God" the 'Benefactor.' So in Gen. iii. 23 punishment is inflicted by "the Lord God" in kind severity.

"Every tree" signifies *all* virtues. The addition of "feedingly" to "eat" signifies spiritual mastication. Eating represents perfunctory obedience: "feeding on," thoughtful, hearty obedience.

Anent the position of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, illustrations of actual and virtual presence are given in 100.

The fact that the prohibition is addressed to more than one is explained by saying that (*a*) inferior men

are very numerous; (*b*) the inferior man devoid of concentration is not a unity.

The treatise ends with the drawing of a distinction between the death which all die and the death of the soul.

ΝΟΜΩΝ ΙΕΡΩΝ ΑΛΛΗΓΟΡΙΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΞΑΗΜΕΡΟΝ ΤΟ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ

1 I. "Καὶ συνετελέσθησαν ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ
[43] καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν" (Gen. ii. 1). νοῦ καὶ
αἰσθήσεως γένεσιν εἰπὼν πάλαι, νῦν δὴ ἀμφοτέρων
τελείωσιν διασυνίστησιν. οὔτε δὲ νοῦν τὸν ἄτομον
οὔτε αἴσθησιν τὴν ἐν μέρει πέρας εἰληφέναι φησίν,
ἀλλ' ἰδέας, τὴν μὲν νοῦ, τὴν δὲ αἰσθήσεως· συμ-
βολικῶς μὲν γὰρ τὸν νοῦν οὐρανόν, ἐπειδὴ αἱ
νοηταὶ φύσεις ἐν οὐρανῷ, τὴν δὲ αἴσθησιν καλεῖ γῆν,
ὅτι σύστασιν σωματοειδῆ καὶ γεωδεστέραν ἔλαχεν
αἴσθησις· κόσμος δὲ νοῦ μὲν τὰ ἀσώματα καὶ
νοητὰ πάντα, αἰσθήσεως δὲ τὰ ἐνσώματα καὶ
ὅσα συνόλως αἰσθητά.

2 II. "Καὶ συνετέλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἕκτῃ
[44] τὰ | ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἃ ἐποίησεν" (Gen. ii. 2). εὔηθες
πάνυ τὸ οἴεσθαι ἓξ ἡμέραις ἢ καθόλου χρόνῳ
γεγονέναι τὸν κόσμον· διὰ τί; ὅτι πᾶς χρόνος
ἡμερῶν καὶ νυκτῶν ἐστι σύστημα, ταῦτα δὲ
ἡλίου κίνησις ὑπὲρ γῆν καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν ἰόντος ἐξ

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[a] κόσμος = "order" or "world." Philo takes it in the latter sense. E.V. "host."

[b] 6th. So LXX. E.V. 7th.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION OF GENESIS II., III.

BOOK I

I. "And the heaven and the earth and all their world were completed" (Gen. ii. 1). He had already told of the creation of mind and sense-perception ; he now fully sets forth the consummation of both. He does not say that either the individual mind or the particular sense-perception have reached completion, but that the originals have done so, that of mind and that of sense-perception. For using symbolical language he calls the mind heaven, since heaven is the abode of natures discerned only by mind, but sense-perception he calls earth, because sense-perception possesses a composition of a more earthly and body-like sort. "World,"[a] in the case of mind, means all incorporeal things, things discerned by mind alone : in the case of sense-perception it denotes things in bodily form and generally whatever sense perceives.

II. "And God finished on the sixth[b] day His works which He had made" (Gen. ii. 2). It is quite foolish to think that the world was created in six days or in a space of time at all. Why ? Because every period of time is a series of days and nights, and these can only be made such by the movement of the sun as it goes over and under the earth : but

ἀνάγκης ἀποτελεῖ· ἥλιος δὲ μέρος οὐρανοῦ γέγονεν,
ὥστε χρόνον ἀνομολογεῖσθαι νεώτερον κόσμου.
λέγοιτ' ἂν οὖν ὀρθῶς, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν χρόνῳ γέγονε
κόσμος, ἀλλὰ διὰ κόσμου συνέστη χρόνος· ἡ γὰρ
3 οὐρανοῦ κίνησις χρόνου φύσιν ἔδειξεν. ὅταν οὖν
λέγῃ "συνετέλεσεν ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τὰ ἔργα," νοητέον
ὅτι οὐ πλῆθος ἡμερῶν παραλαμβάνει, τέλειον δὲ
ἀριθμὸν τὸν ἕξ, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτος ἴσος ἐστὶ τοῖς
ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσιν, ἡμίσει καὶ τρίτῳ καὶ ἕκτῳ, καὶ
ἀπὸ ἑτερομήκους συνίσταται τοῦ δὶς τρία· δυὰς
μέντοι καὶ τριὰς ἐκβέβηκε τὴν κατὰ τὸ ἓν ἀσω-
ματότητα, ὅτι ἡ μὲν ὕλης ἐστὶν εἰκών, διαιρουμένη
καὶ τεμνομένη καθάπερ ἐκείνη, τριὰς δὲ στερεοῦ
4 σώματος, ὅτιπερ τριχῇ τὸ στερεὸν διαιρετόν. οὐ
μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ συγγενής ἐστι ταῖς τῶν ὀργανικῶν
ζῴων κινήσεσιν· ἑξαχῇ γὰρ τὸ ὀργανικὸν σῶμα
πέφυκε κινεῖσθαι, πρόσω καὶ κατόπιν, ἄνω καὶ
κάτω, ἐπὶ δεξιὰ καὶ εὐώνυμα. βούλεται οὖν τά
τε θνητὰ γένη καὶ πάλιν αὖ τὰ ἄφθαρτα κατὰ
τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπιδεῖξαι συστάντα ἀριθμούς, τὰ
μὲν θνητὰ ὡς ἔφην παραμετρῶν ἑξάδι, τὰ δὲ
5 μακάρια καὶ εὐδαίμονα ἑβδομάδι. πρῶ-
τον οὖν ἑβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ καταπαύσας τὴν τῶν
θνητῶν σύστασιν ἄρχεται ἑτέρων θειοτέρων δια-
τυπώσεως· III. παύεται γὰρ οὐδέποτε ποιῶν ὁ
θεός, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἴδιον τὸ καίειν πυρὸς καὶ χιόνος
τὸ ψύχειν, οὕτως καὶ θεοῦ τὸ ποιεῖν· καὶ πολύ γε

[a] See App. p. 477.

[b] Aristotle, *Ethics* iii. 1. 6, and Grant's note.

the sun is a part of heaven, so that time is confessedly more recent than the world. It would therefore be correct to say that the world was not made in time, but that time was formed by means of the world, for it was heaven's movement that was the index of the nature of time. When, then, Moses says, "He finished His work on the sixth day," we must understand him to be adducing not a quantity of days, but a perfect number, namely six, since it is the first that is equal to the sum of its own fractions $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, and $\frac{1}{6}$, and is produced by the multiplication of two unequal factors,[a] 2×3; and see, the numbers 2 and 3 have left behind the incorporeal character that belongs to 1, 2 being an image of matter, and being parted and divided as that is, while 3 is the image of a solid body, for the solid is patient of a threefold division. Nay more, the number 6 is akin to the movements of animals provided with instrumental limbs,[b] for the body equipped with such instruments is so constituted by nature that it can move in six directions, forwards and backwards, upwards and downwards, to the right and to the left. Moses' wish, therefore, is to exhibit alike the things created of mortal kind and those that are incorruptible as having been formed in a way corresponding to their proper numbers. As I have just said, he makes mortal things parallel with the number six, the happy and blessed things with the number seven.

First of all, then, on the seventh day the Creator, having brought to an end the formation of mortal things, begins the shaping of others more divine. III. For God never leaves off making, but even as it is the property of fire to burn and of snow to chill, so it is the property of God to make: nay more so

μᾶλλον, ὅσῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀρχὴ τοῦ
6 δρᾶν ἐστιν. εὖ μέντοι καὶ τὸ φάναι "κατέπαυσεν,"
οὐχὶ "ἐπαύσατο"· παύει μὲν γὰρ τὰ δοκοῦντα
ποιεῖν οὐκ ἐνεργοῦντα, οὐ παύεται δὲ ποιῶν αὐτός.
διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει "κατέπαυσεν ὧν ἤρξατο"· ὅσα
μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἡμετέραις τέχναις δημιουργεῖται,
τελειωθέντα ἵσταται καὶ μένει, ὅσα δὲ ἐπιστήμῃ
θεοῦ, περατωθέντα πάλιν κινεῖται· τὰ γὰρ τέλη
αὐτῶν ἑτέρων εἰσὶν ἀρχαί, οἷον ἡμέρας τέλος
νυκτὸς ἀρχή, καὶ μῆνα δὲ καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐνισταμένους
[45] | πέρατα δήπου τῶν ἐξηκόντων ὑποληπτέον·
7 γένεσίς τε αὖ φθειρομένων ἑτέρων καὶ φθορὰ γεννωμένων ἄλλων ἀποτελεῖται, ὥστε ἀληθὲς εἶναι τὸ
λεγόμενον ὅτι

> θνῄσκει δ' οὐδὲν τῶν γιγνομένων,
> διακρινόμενον δ' ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλο
> μορφὴν ἑτέραν ἀπέδειξεν.[a]

8 IV. Χαίρει δὲ ἡ φύσις ἑβδομάδι·[b] πλάνητές τε
γὰρ ἑπτὰ γεγόνασιν, ἀντίρροποι τῇ κατὰ ταὐτὰ
καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐχούσῃ φορᾷ· καὶ ἄρκτος ἑπτὰ
ἄστροις συμπληροῦται, κοινωνίας καὶ ἑνώσεως
ἀνθρώπων, οὐκ ἐπιμιξίας αὐτὸ μόνον, οὖσα αἰτία·
καὶ τροπαὶ δὲ σελήνης ἑβδομάσι γίνονται, συμπαθεστάτου πρὸς τὰ ἐπίγεια ἄστρου, καὶ ἃς κατὰ
τὸν ἀέρα μεταβολὰς ἐργάζεται, μάλιστα τοῖς
9 καθ' ἑβδομάδα σχηματισμοῖς ἀποτελεῖ. τά γε μὴν

[a] Eurip. fr. 839.
[b] 8-16. *Cf. De Op.* 89-128.

by far, inasmuch as He is to all besides the source of action. Excellently, moreover, does Moses say "caused to rest" not "rested"; for He causes to rest that which, though actually not in operation, is apparently making, but He Himself never ceases making. For this reason Moses adds after "He caused to rest" the words "from what He had begun." For whereas things produced by human arts when finished stand still and remain as they are, the products of divine skill, when completed, begin again to move; for their endings are the beginnings of other things, as the end of day is the beginning of night, and the openings of a month and of a year must naturally be regarded as limits which close those which have elapsed: birth again is accomplished through other things decaying, and decay through fresh births, showing the truth of the saying:

> Naught that is born doth ever die,
> Its severed parts together fly,
> And yield another shape.[a]

IV. [b] Nature takes delight in the number seven. Thus there are seven planets, the counterpoise to the uniform movement of the fixed stars. It is in seven stars that the bear reaches completeness, and gives rise not to commerce only but to fellowship and unity among men. The changes of the moon, again, occur by sevens: this is the luminary most sympathetic to earthly matters. And such changes as Nature produces in the atmosphere, she effects mainly by the influence of figures dominated by seven.[c] Indeed,

[c] The reference is to the Planets (*De Op.* 113), to the Pleiades (115), whose settings and risings rule sowing and reaping, and to the Equinoxes (116). The subject of ἐργάζεται is ἡ φύσις at the opening of the section.

θνητά, σπάσαντα ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ θείαν ἀρχήν, καθ᾽ ἑβδομάδα σωτηρίως κινεῖται· τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι τῶν βρεφῶν τὰ μὲν ἑπτάμηνα γόνιμα, τὰ δὲ πλείω χρόνον προσλαβόντα, ὡς ὀκτὼ μῆνας ἐνδιαι-
10 τηθῆναι γαστρί, κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἄγονα; λογικόν τέ φασιν ἄνθρωπον κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἑπταετίαν γίνεσθαι, ὅτε ἤδη ἱκανός ἐστιν ἑρμηνεὺς εἶναι τῶν συνήθων ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων, τὴν λογικὴν ἕξιν περιπεποιημένος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν ἑπταετίαν ἄκρως τελειοῦσθαι· τελείωσις δέ ἐστι δύναμις τῆς τοῦ ὁμοίου σπορᾶς· περὶ γὰρ τὴν τετταρεσκαιδεκαετῆ ἡλικίαν τὸ ὅμοιον γεννᾶν δυνάμεθα· τρίτη πάλιν ἑπταετία πέρας ἐστὶν αὐξήσεως· ἄχρι γὰρ ἑνὸς καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἐπιδίδωσιν εἰς μέγεθος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ καλεῖται παρὰ πολλοῖς ὁ χρόνος
11 οὗτος ἀκμή. ψυχῆς γε μὴν τὸ ἄλογον ἑπταμερές, αἰσθήσεις πέντε καὶ φωνητήριον ὄργανον καὶ τὸ διῆκον ἄχρι παραστατῶν, ὃ δὴ γόνιμόν ἐστι.
12 πάλιν αὖ σώματος ἑπτὰ κινήσεις, ὀργανικαὶ μὲν ἕξ, ἑβδόμη δὲ ἡ κύκλῳ. σπλάγχνα γε μὴν ἑπτά· στόμαχος, καρδία, σπλήν, ἧπαρ, πνεύμων, νεφροὶ δύο. μέλη δὲ σώματος ὁμοίως ἰσάριθμα· κεφαλή, τράχηλος, στέρνον, χεῖρες, κοιλία, ἦτρον, πόδες. τό τε ἡγεμονικώτατον τοῦ ζῴου πρόσωπον ἑπταχῆ κατατέτρηται, δυσὶν ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ ὠσὶ δυσίν,
13 ἴσοις μυκτῆρσιν, ἑβδόμῳ στόματι. αἵ τε ἀποκρίσεις ἑπτά· δάκρυα, μύξαι, σίελος, σπέρμα, διττοὶ περιττωμάτων ὀχετοί, καὶ δι᾽ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος ἱδρώς. ἔν γε μὴν ταῖς νόσοις κριτικωτάτη ἑβδομάς. καὶ γυναιξὶ δὲ αἱ καταμήνιοι καθάρσεις ἄχρι ἑβδομάδος παρατείνουσιν.

all that concerns us mortals has a divine origin drawn from heaven and is for our weal when its movement is ruled by seven. Who does not know that seven months' infants come to the birth, while those that have taken a longer time, remaining in the womb eight months, are as a rule still-born? And they say that man becomes a reasoning being during his first seven years, by which time he is already capable of expressing ordinary nouns and verbs through having acquired the reasoning faculty; and that during his second period of seven years he reaches complete consummation; consummation meaning the power of reproducing his like; for at about the age of fourteen we are able to beget offspring like ourselves. The third period of seven years, again, is the end of growth, for till the age of twenty-one years men increase in height, and by many this time is called his prime. Furthermore the unreasoning side of the soul consists of seven parts, five senses, and the organ of speech, and the genital organ. The body again has seven movements, six mechanical, the seventh circular. Seven also are the internal organs, stomach, heart, spleen, liver, lung, two kidneys. Of equal number in like number are the divisions of the body—head, neck, breast, hands, belly, abdomen, feet. And the face, the living creature's noblest part, is pierced by seven apertures, by two eyes, and two ears, as many nostrils, and the mouth, which make up seven. The excrements are seven—tears, mucus, spittle, seed, superfluities discharged by two ducts, and the sweat that oozes from all over the body. Once again in diseases the seventh is the most critical day. And the monthly purgings of women extend to seven days. V. The power

14 [46] V. διελήλυθε δὲ ἡ | δύναμις αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ὠφελιμωτάτας τῶν τεχνῶν· ἐν γοῦν γραμματικῇ τὰ ἄριστα τῶν στοιχείων καὶ πλείστην δύναμιν ἔχοντα ἑπτά ἐστιν ἀριθμῷ, τὰ φωνήεντα· κατά τε μουσικὴν ἡ ἑπτάχορδος λύρα πάντων σχεδὸν ὀργάνων ἀρίστη, διότι τὸ ἐναρμόνιον, ὃ δὴ τῶν μελῳδουμένων γενῶν ἐστι τὸ σεμνότατον, κατ' αὐτὴν μάλιστά πως θεωρεῖται· τάς τε τῶν φθόγγων τάσεις ἑπτὰ εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ὀξύν, βαρύν, περι-
15 σπώμενον, δασύν, ψιλόν, μακρόν, βραχύν. ἔτι πρῶτός ἐστιν ἀπὸ τελείου τοῦ ἓξ καὶ μονάδι κατά τινα λόγον ὁ αὐτός. οἵ τε ἐντὸς δεκάδος ἀριθμοὶ ἢ γεννῶνται ἢ γεννῶσι τοὺς ἐντὸς δεκάδος καὶ αὐτήν, ἡ δὲ ἑβδομὰς οὔτε γεννᾷ τινα τῶν ἐντὸς δεκάδος ἀριθμῶν οὔτε γεννᾶται ὑπό τινος. παρὸ μυθεύοντες οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι τῇ ἀειπαρθένῳ καὶ ἀμήτορι αὐτὴν ἀπεικάζουσιν, ὅτι οὔτε ἀπεκυήθη οὔτε ἀποτέξεται.

16 VI. "Κατέπαυσεν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ὧν ἐποίησε" (Gen. ii. 2). τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τοιοῦτο· τὰ θνητὰ γένη παύεται πλάττων ὁ θεός, ὅταν ἄρχηται ποιεῖν τὰ θεῖα καὶ ἑβδομάδος φύσει οἰκεῖα. ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἦθος ἀπόδοσίς ἐστι τοιαύτη· ὅταν ἐπιγένηται τῇ ψυχῇ ὁ κατὰ ἑβδομάδα ἅγιος λόγος, ἐπέχεται ἡ ἑξὰς καὶ ὅσα θνητὰ ταύτῃ[1] ποιεῖν δοκεῖ.

VII. "Καὶ εὐλόγησεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν

[1] ταύτῃ (sc. τῇ ἑξάδι) conj. Cohn: τουτὶ mss.

of this number reaches also to the most beneficent of the arts: in grammar, for instance, the best and most effective of the letters, namely the vowels, are seven in number: in music we may fairly call the seven-stringed lyre the best of instruments, because the enharmonic genus, which as we know is the most dignified of those used in melodies, is best brought out when that instrument renders it. Sevenfold are the modulations in pronunciation—acute, grave, circumflex, aspirated and unaspirated, long, short. Further, seven is the first number after the perfect number six, and the same in some sort with the number one. Whereas other numbers within the decade are either produced by or produce those within the decade and the decade itself, the number seven neither produces any of the numbers within the decade nor is produced by any. By reason of this the Pythagoreans, indulging in myth, liken seven to the motherless and ever-virgin Maiden, because neither was she born of the womb nor shall she ever bear.

VI. "He rested[a] therefore on the seventh day from all His works which He had made" (Gen. ii. 2). This is as much as to say that God ceases moulding the masses that are mortal, whenever He begins to make those that are divine and in keeping with the nature of seven. But the interpretation of the statement in accordance with its bearing on human life and character is this, that, whenever there comes upon the soul the holy Reason of which Seven is the keynote, six together with all mortal things that the soul seems to make therewith comes to a stop.

VII. "And God blessed the seventh day and

[a] Literally, "caused to rest."

17 ἑβδόμην καὶ ἡγίασεν αὐτήν" (Gen. ii. 3). τοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἕβδομον καὶ θεῖον ὡς ἀληθῶς φῶς κινηθέντας τρόπους εὐλογεῖ τε ὁ θεὸς καὶ εὐθὺς ἁγίους ἀποφαίνει· συγγενέστατοι γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ὁ εὐλόγιστός τε καὶ ὁ ἅγιος. διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ τὴν μεγάλην εὐχὴν εὐξαμένου φησὶν ὅτι, ἐὰν τροπὴ κατασκήψασα αἰφνίδιον μιάνῃ τὸν νοῦν, οὐκέτ' ἔσται ἅγιος (cf. Num. vi. 9)· ἀλλ' "αἱ ἡμέραι αἱ πρότεραι ἄλογοι" (ib. vi. 12)· κατὰ τὸ εἰκός· ἀλόγιστος γὰρ ὁ μὴ ἅγιος τρόπος, ὥστε ὁ εὐλό-
18 γιστος ἅγιος. ὀρθῶς οὖν ἔφη ὅτι τὴν ἑβδόμην εὐλόγησέ τε καὶ ἡγίασεν, "ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ κατέπαυσεν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ὧν ἤρξατο ποιεῖν ὁ θεός" (Gen. ii. 3). αἰτία δ' ἡ δι' ἣν εὐλόγιστός τε καὶ ἅγιος γέγονεν ὁ κατὰ τὸ ἕβδομον καὶ τέλειον φῶς ἄγων ἑαυτόν, ἐπεὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ φύσει παύεται ἡ τῶν θνητῶν σύστασις. καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει· ὅταν ἀνατείλῃ φέγγος τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ λαμπρότατον καὶ θεῖον ὄντως, ἐπέχεται τῆς ἐναντίας φύσεως ἡ γένεσις. ἐδηλώσαμεν δὲ ὅτι παύων
[47] ὁ | θεὸς οὐ παύεται ποιῶν, ἀλλ' ἑτέρων γενέσεως ἄρχεται, ἅτε οὐ τεχνίτης μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πατὴρ ὢν τῶν γινομένων.

19 VIII. "Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὅτε ἐγένετο" (Gen. ii. 4). οὗτος ὁ κατὰ

[a] Philo dwells on the connexion between εὐλογεῖν (lit. "say well done" or "well be it," εὖ) and εὐλόγιστος ("happy in the use of reason or of speech") and builds an ethical interpretation of the passage on this connexion.

[b] See Numb. vi. 2.

[c] Such is Philo's interpretation of the Nazirite touching a corpse.

[d] "Not reckoned" (ἄλογος) suggests "not taken into

hallowed it" (Gen. ii. 3). God both blesses and forthwith makes holy the dispositions set in motion in harmony with the seventh and truly Divine light, for closely akin are the character that is charged with benediction [a] and the character that is holy. That is why, when treating of him who has vowed the great vow,[b] he says that, if a change suddenly befall him and defile his mind,[c] he shall no longer be holy, but "the preceding days are not reckoned."[d] Rightly enough, for the character that is not holy is vile, of no account, so that the character well accounted of is holy. Rightly, then, did he say that God both blessed and hallowed the seventh day, "because in it He ceased [e] from all His works which God began to make" (Gen. ii. 3). But the reason why the man that guides himself in accordance with the seventh and perfect light is both of good understanding [f] and holy, is that the formation of things mortal ceases with this day's advent. For, indeed, the matter stands thus; when that most brilliant and truly divine light of virtue has dawned, the creation of that whose nature is of the contrary kind comes to a stop. But we pointed out that God when ceasing or rather causing to cease, does not cease making, but begins the creating of other things, since He is not a mere artificer, but also Father of the things that are coming into being.[g]

VIII. "This book is that of the origin of heaven and earth, when it came into being" (Gen. ii. 4).

account" (ἀλόγιστος), which is the direct opposite of "well accounted of," a meaning that might be given to εὐλόγιστος.

[e] Strictly "caused to cease."

[f] Or "blessed."

[g] This ceaseless action of God as Father, by the operation of the all-permeating Spirit, Philo finds implied in Gen. ii. 3.

ἑβδομάδα κινούμενος τέλειος λόγος ἀρχὴ γενέσεως τοῦ τε κατὰ τὰς ἰδέας νοῦ τεταγμένου καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὰς ἰδέας τεταγμένης νοητῆς, εἰ οἷόν τε τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, αἰσθήσεως. βιβλίον δὲ εἴρηκε τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον, ᾧ συμβέβηκεν ἐγγράφεσθαι καὶ
20 ἐγχαράττεσθαι τὰς τῶν ἄλλων συστάσεις. ἵνα δὲ μὴ καθ' ὡρισμένας χρόνων περιόδους ὑπολάβῃς τὸ θεῖόν τι ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰδῇς ἄδηλα καὶ ἀτέκμαρτα καὶ ἀκατάληπτα τῷ θνητῷ γένει τὰ δημιουργούμενα, ἐπιφέρει τὸ "ὅτε ἐγένετο," τὸ πότε κατὰ περιγραφὴν οὐ διορίζων· ἀπεριγράφως γὰρ γίνεται τὰ γινόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ αἰτίου. ἀνῄρηται τοίνυν τὸ ἐν ἓξ ἡμέραις γεγενῆσθαι τὸ πᾶν.

21 IX. "Ἧι ἡμέρᾳ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πᾶν χλωρὸν ἀγροῦ πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντα χόρτον ἀγροῦ πρὸ τοῦ ἀνατεῖλαι· οὐ γὰρ ἔβρεξεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἦν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν" (Gen. ii. 4, 5). τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἐπάνω βίβλον εἴρηκεν, εἴ γε ἐν ἀμφοτέροις οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὑπογράφει γένεσιν· τῷ γὰρ περιφανεστάτῳ καὶ τηλαυγεστάτῳ ἑαυτοῦ λόγῳ ὁ θεὸς ἀμφότερα ποιεῖ, τήν τε ἰδέαν τοῦ νοῦ, ὃν συμβολικῶς οὐρανὸν κέκληκε, καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν τῆς αἰσθήσεως, ἣν διὰ σημείου γῆν ὠνό-
22 μασεν. ἀγροῖς δὲ ἀπεικάζει δυσὶ τήν τε ἰδέαν τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν τῆς αἰσθήσεως· φέρει γὰρ ὁ μὲν νοῦς καρπὸν τὰ ἐν τῷ νοεῖν, ἡ δὲ αἴσθησις τὰ

[a] Philo can identify the Book with Reason, since λόγος can mean Reason as well as Word.

[b] "Sense-perception" has its function in the material sphere. It cannot strictly be spoken of as acting in the domain of mind or pure intellect.

(That is to say): "This perfect Reason,[a] moving in accord with the number 7, is the primal origin both of mind ordering itself after the original patterns, and of sense-perception in the domain of mind[b] (if the expression is permissible) ordering itself after those originals." "Book" is Moses' name for the Reason of God, in which have been inscribed and engraved the formation of all else. But that you may not suppose that the Deity makes anything in definite periods of time, but may know that to mortal kind the process of creation is unobserved, undescried, incomprehensible, he adds, "When it came into being," not defining "when" by a determining limit, for the things that come into being under the hand of the First Cause come into being with no determining limit. There is an end, then, of the notion that the universe came into being in six days.

IX. "In the day in which God made the heaven and the earth and every green thing of the field before it appeared upon the earth and all grass of the field before it sprang up; for God had not sent rain on the earth, and there was no man to till the earth" (Gen. ii. 4, 5). Above he has called this day a book, for he delineates the creation of heaven and earth as wrought in both: for by His own supremely manifest and far-shining Reason God makes both of them, both the original of the mind, which in symbolic language he calls "heaven," and the original of sense-perception, to which by a figure he gave the name of "earth." And he compares the original of the mind and the original of sense-perception to two fields; for they bear fruit, the mind all that is done in thinking, sense-perception all that is done in per-

ἐν τῷ αἰσθάνεσθαι. ὃ δὲ λέγει, τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· ὥσπερ τοῦ ἐπὶ μέρους καὶ ἀτόμου νοῦ προϋπάρχει τις ἰδέα, ὡς ἂν ἀρχέτυπος καὶ παράδειγμα τούτου, καὶ πάλιν τῆς κατὰ μέρος αἰσθήσεως <ἰδέα τις αἰσθήσεως>, σφραγῖδος λόγον ἔχουσα εἴδη τυπούσης, οὕτως πρὶν μὲν γενέσθαι τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους νοητά, ἦν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο γενικὸν νοητόν, οὗ κατὰ μετοχὴν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὠνόμασται, πρὶν δὲ γενέσθαι τὰ κατὰ μέρος αἰσθητά, ἦν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο γενικὸν αἰσθητόν, οὗ κατὰ μετουσίαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα αἰσθητὰ
23 γέγονε. χλωρὸν μὲν οὖν ἀγροῦ τὸ νοητὸν εἴρηκε
[48] | τοῦ νοῦ· ὡς γὰρ ἐν ἀγρῷ τὰ χλωρὰ βλαστάνει καὶ ἀνθεῖ, οὕτως βλάστημα τοῦ νοῦ τὸ νοητόν ἐστι. πρὶν οὖν τὸ κατὰ μέρος νοητὸν γενέσθαι, τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο νοητὸν ἀποτελεῖ γενικὸν ὄν, ὃ δὴ καὶ "πᾶν" κέκληκεν ὑγιῶς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ μέρος νοητὸν ἀτελὲς ὂν οὐ πᾶν, τὸ δὲ γενικὸν
24 ἅπαν, ἅτε πλῆρες ὄν. X. "καὶ πάντα" φησί "χόρτον ἀγροῦ πρὸ τοῦ ἀνατεῖλαι," τουτέστι· πρὸ τοῦ ἀνατεῖλαι τὰ κατὰ μέρος αἰσθητὰ ἦν τὸ γενικὸν αἰσθητὸν προμηθείᾳ τοῦ πεποιηκότος, ὃ δὴ πάλιν "πᾶν" εἴρηκεν. εἰκότως μέντοι χόρτῳ τὸ αἰσθητὸν ἀπείκασεν· ὡς γὰρ ὁ χόρτος ἀλόγου τροφή, οὕτως τὸ αἰσθητὸν τῷ ἀλόγῳ μέρει ψυχῆς

ceiving. What he means is something of this sort. As before the particular and individual mind there subsists a certain original as an archetype and pattern of it, and again before the particular sense-perception, a certain original of sense-perception related to the particular as a seal making impression is to the form which it makes; just so, before the individual objects of intellectual perception came into being, there was existing as a genus the 'intellectually-perceptible' itself, by participation in which the name has been given to the members of the genus; and before the individual objects of sense-perception came into existence, there was existing as a genus the 'sensibly-perceptible' itself, by sharing in whose being all other objects of sense have become such. "Green of the field," then, is what he terms the "intellectually-perceptible" of the mind; for as in a field the green things spring up and bloom, even so the 'intellectually-perceptible' is a growth springing from the mind. Before, then, the particular 'intellectually-perceptible' came into being, the Creator produces the solely abstract 'intellectually-perceptible,' as a generic existence. This he rightly calls "all," for the particular 'intellectually-perceptible,' being a fragment, is not all, but the generic is so, being a full whole. X. "And all the grass of the field" he says, "before it sprang up," that is to say, before the particular objects of sense sprang up, there existed by the Maker's forethought the generic 'sensibly-perceptible,' and that it is that he again calls "all." Natural enough is his comparison of the 'sensibly-perceptible' to grass. For as grass is the food of a creature devoid of reason, so has the

προσκεκλήρωται· ἐπεὶ διὰ τί προειπὼν "χλωρὸν
ἀγροῦ" ἐπιφέρει "καὶ πάντα χόρτον," ὡς οὐ γινο-
μένου χόρτου χλωροῦ τὸ παράπαν; ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν
ἀγροῦ χλωρὸν τὸ νοητόν ἐστιν, ἐκβλάστημα νοῦ,
ὁ δὲ χόρτος τὸ αἰσθητόν, τοῦ ἀλόγου τῆς ψυχῆς
25 καὶ αὐτὸ βλάστημα. "οὐ γὰρ ἔβρεξεν
ὁ θεὸς" φησίν "ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ
ἦν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν." φυσικώτατα· ἐὰν γὰρ
μὴ ἐπομβρήσῃ ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι τὰς ἀντιλήψεις τῶν
ὑποκειμένων ὁ θεός, οὐδ' ὁ νοῦς ἐργάσεται καὶ
πραγματεύσεταί τι περὶ αἴσθησιν· ἄπρακτος γὰρ
αὐτὸς ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ μὴ ὥσπερ ὕοντος καὶ ἐπι-
ψεκάζοντος ὁράσει μὲν χρώματα, φωνὰς δὲ ἀκοῇ,
γεύσει δὲ χυλοὺς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τὰ οἰκεῖα τοῦ
26 αἰτίου. ὅταν δὲ ἄρδειν ὁ θεὸς ἄρξηται τὴν
αἴσθησιν αἰσθητοῖς, τηνικαῦτα καὶ ὁ νοῦς ἐργάτης
οἷα πίονος γῆς ἀνευρίσκεται. ἡ δ' ἰδέα τῆς
αἰσθήσεως οὐ δεῖται τροφῆς· τροφὴ δὲ αἰσθήσεως,
ἣν κατὰ σύμβολον βροχὴν εἴρηκεν, τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους
αἰσθητά, ἃ δὴ σώματά ἐστιν· ἰδέα δὲ σωμάτων
ἀλλότριον. πρὶν οὖν γενέσθαι τὰ κατὰ μέρος
συγκρίματα, οὐκ ἔβρεξεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδέαν τῆς
αἰσθήσεως, ἣν εἴρηκε γῆν, τοῦτο δέ ἐστι, τροφὴν
οὐ παρέσχεν αὐτῇ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐδεῖτο αἰσθητοῦ τὸ
27 παράπαν οὐδενός. τὸ δὲ "καὶ ἄνθρωπος

'sensibly-perceptible' been assigned to the unreasoning part of the soul. Else why, after saying before "green of the field," does he go on to say, "and all grass," as if it were impossible for green of the field to come up as grass? The fact is, "the green of the field" is the 'intellectually-perceptible,' an outgrowth of the mind, but the "grass" is the 'sensibly-perceptible,' it in turn being a growth of the unreasoning part of the soul.

He goes on "for God had not rained upon the earth, and there was no man to work the ground." These words discover a deep knowledge of the laws of being. For if God does not shower upon the senses the means of apprehending objects presented to them, neither will the mind have anything to "work" or take in hand in the field of sense-perception. For the mind by itself is without employment when the Cause of all things does not pour down, like rain and moisture, colours on the sight, sounds on the hearing, savours on the taste, and that which is proper to them on the other senses. But as soon as God has begun to water sense with objects of sense, that moment the mind also is found to be a tiller of rich soil, so to speak. The original of 'sense-perception' has no need of nourishment; but the nourishment of 'sense-perception,' which he figuratively calls "rain," is the particular objects of sense, which of course are bodies; whereas an original has nothing to do with bodies. Thus before the creation of particular concrete substances, God did not rain on the original idea of sense-perception, which Moses calls "earth," and this means that He supplied it with no food: for indeed it was in absolutely no need whatever of a sensible object of perception. The

οὐκ ἦν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν" τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· ἡ ἰδέα τοῦ νοῦ τὴν ἰδέαν τῆς αἰσθήσεως οὐκ εἰργάζετο· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐμὸς καὶ σὸς νοῦς ἐργάζεται τὴν αἴσθησιν διὰ τῶν αἰσθητῶν, ἡ δὲ τοῦ νοῦ ἰδέα, ἅτε δὴ μηδενὸς ὄντος ἐπὶ μέρους οἰκείου σώματος, οὐκ ἐργάζεται τὴν ἰδέαν τῆς αἰσθήσεως· εἰ γὰρ εἰργάζετο, διὰ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἂν εἰργάζετο, αἰσθητὸν δὲ ἐν ἰδέαις οὐδέν.

28 XI. "*Πηγὴ δὲ ἀνέβαινεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπότιζε πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς*" (Gen. ii. 6). *τὸν μὲν*
[49] *νοῦν εἴρηκε* | *γῆς πηγήν, τὰς δὲ αἰσθήσεις πρόσωπον, ὅτι χωρίον αὐταῖς ἐξ ἅπαντος τοῦ σώματος πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἐνεργείας ἐπιτηδειότατον ἡ πάντα προμηθουμένη φύσις ἀπένειμε τοῦτο· πηγῆς δὲ τρόπον ἄρδει τὰς αἰσθήσεις ὁ νοῦς, ἐπιπέμπων τὰ πρόσφορα ἑκάστῃ ῥεύματα. ἴδε οὖν, πῶς ἁλύσεως τρόπον αἱ τοῦ ζῴου δυνάμεις ἀλλήλων ἔχονται· νοῦ γὰρ καὶ αἰσθήσεως ἔτι δὲ αἰσθητοῦ τριῶν ὄντων μέσον μέν ἐστιν αἴσθησις, ἄκρον δὲ ἑκάτερον*
29 *ὅ τε νοῦς καὶ τὸ αἰσθητόν. ἀλλ' οὔθ' ὁ νοῦς δυνατὸς ἐργάσασθαι, τουτέστιν ἐνεργῆσαι κατὰ αἴσθησιν, ἐὰν μὴ βρέξῃ καὶ ὕσῃ τὸ αἰσθητὸν ὁ θεός, οὔτε ὑσθέντος αἰσθητοῦ ὄφελός ἐστιν, ἐὰν μὴ πηγῆς τρόπον ὁ νοῦς, τείνας ἑαυτὸν ἄχρι τῆς αἰσθήσεως, κινήσῃ τε αὐτὴν ἠρεμοῦσαν, καὶ ἀγάγῃ πρὸς ἀντίληψιν τοῦ ὑποκειμένου· ὥστε ἀντίδοσιν ὁ νοῦς καὶ τὸ αἰσθητὸν ἀεὶ μελετῶσι, τὸ μὲν προϋποκείμενον αἰσθήσει ὡς ἂν ὕλη, ὁ δὲ κινῶν τὴν*

meaning of the words, " and there was not a man to work the ground," is this: the original idea of the mind did not work the original idea of sense-perception: for my mind like yours works the sense-perception through the objects of the senses, but the original idea of the mind, as there was of course no particular body in existence proper to it, does not work the original idea of 'sense-perception': for were it working, it would be working it by means of the objects of sense, but among original ideas there is no such thing as an object of sense.

XI. " And a spring went up out of the earth and watered all the face of the earth " (Gen. ii. 6). He calls the mind a " spring " of the earth, and the senses its " face," because Nature, exercising forethought in all things, assigned this place to them out of all the body as most suitable for their special activities: and the mind like a spring waters the senses, sending to each of them the streams suitable to it. See then, how, like links in a chain, the powers of the living creature hold on to each other; for mind and 'sense-perception' and object of sense being three, 'sense-perception' is in the middle, while mind and object of sense occupy each extreme. But neither has the mind power to work, that is, to put forth its energies by way of 'sense-perception,' unless God send the object of sense as rain upon it; nor is any benefit derived from the object of sense when so rained down, unless, like a spring, the mind, extending itself to reach the 'sense-perception,' stir it out of its repose to grasp the object presented to it. Thus the mind and the object of sense are always practising a reciprocity of giving, the one lying ready for sense-perception as its material, the

αἴσθησιν πρὸς τὸ ἐκτὸς ὡς ἂν τεχνίτης, ἵνα γένηται
30 *ὁρμή. τὸ γὰρ ζῷον τοῦ μὴ ζῴου δυσὶ προὔχει, φαντασίᾳ καὶ ὁρμῇ· ἡ μὲν οὖν φαντασία συνίσταται κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐκτὸς πρόσοδον τυποῦντος νοῦν δι᾽ αἰσθήσεως, ἡ δὲ ὁρμή, τὸ ἀδελφὸν τῆς φαντασίας, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ νοῦ τονικὴν δύναμιν, ἣν τείνας δι᾽ αἰσθήσεως ἅπτεται τοῦ ὑποκειμένου καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ χωρεῖ γλιχόμενος ἐφικέσθαι καὶ συλλαβεῖν αὐτό.*

31 XII. "*Καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν*" (Gen. ii. 7).[a] *διττὰ ἀνθρώπων γένη· ὁ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος, ὁ δὲ γήϊνος. ὁ μὲν οὖν οὐράνιος ἅτε κατ᾽ εἰκόνα θεοῦ γεγονὼς φθαρτῆς καὶ συνόλως γεώδους οὐσίας ἀμέτοχος, ὁ δὲ γήϊνος ἐκ σποράδος ὕλης, ἣν χοῦν κέκληκεν, ἐπάγη· διὸ τὸν μὲν οὐράνιόν φησιν οὐ πεπλάσθαι, κατ᾽ εἰκόνα δὲ τετυπῶσθαι θεοῦ, τὸν δὲ γήϊνον πλάσμα, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ γέννημα,*
32 *εἶναι τοῦ τεχνίτου. ἄνθρωπον δὲ τὸν ἐκ γῆς λογιστέον εἶναι νοῦν εἰσκρινόμενον σώματι, οὔπω*
[50] | *δ᾽ εἰσκεκριμένον. ὁ δὲ νοῦς οὗτος γεώδης ἐστὶ τῷ ὄντι καὶ φθαρτός, εἰ μὴ ὁ θεὸς ἐμπνεύσειεν αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἀληθινῆς ζωῆς· τότε γὰρ γίνεται, οὐκέτι πλάττεται, εἰς ψυχήν, οὐκ ἀργὸν καὶ ἀδιατύπωτον, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς νοερὰν καὶ ζῶσαν ὄντως·*

[a] See App. p. 477.

other, like a craftsman, moving sense-perception in the direction of the external object, to produce an impulse towards it. For the living creature excels the non-living in two respects, in the power of receiving impressions and in the active impulse [a] towards the object producing them. The impression is produced by the drawing nigh of the external object, as it stamps the mind through sense-perception; while the active impulse, close of kin to the power aforesaid, comes about by way of the mind's power of self-extension, which it exercises through sense-perception, and so comes into touch with the object presented to it, and goes towards it, striving to reach and seize it.

XII. "And God formed the man by taking clay from the earth, and breathed into his face a breath of life, and the man became a living soul" (Gen. ii. 7). There are two types of men; the one a heavenly man, the other an earthly. The heavenly man, being made after the image of God, is altogether without part or lot in corruptible and terrestrial substance; but the earthly one was compacted out of the matter scattered here and there, which Moses calls "clay." For this reason he says that the heavenly man was not moulded, but was stamped with the image of God; while the earthly is a moulded work of the Artificer, but not His offspring. We must account the man made out of the earth to be mind mingling with, but not yet blended with, body. But this earthlike mind is in reality also corruptible, were not God to breathe into it a power of real life; when He does so, it does not any more undergo moulding, but becomes a soul, not an inefficient and imperfectly formed soul, but one

"εἰς ψυχὴν" γάρ φησι "ζῶσαν ἐγένετο ὁ ἄν-
33 θρωπος." XIII. ζητήσαι δ' ἄν τις, διὰ τί ἠξίωσεν ὁ θεὸς ὅλως τὸν γηγενῆ καὶ φιλοσώματον νοῦν πνεύματος θείου, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἰδέαν γεγονότα καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ἑαυτοῦ· δεύτερον δέ, τί ἐστι τὸ "ἐνεφύσησε"· τρίτον, διὰ τί εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐμπνεῖται· τέταρτον, διὰ τί πνεύματος ὄνομα εἰδώς, ὅταν λέγῃ "καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος" (Gen. i. 2),
34 πνοῆς νῦν ἀλλ' οὐχὶ πνεύματος μέμνηται. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸ πρῶτον λεκτέον ἓν μέν, ὅτι φιλόδωρος ὢν ὁ θεὸς χαρίζεται τὰ ἀγαθὰ πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς μὴ τελείοις, προκαλούμενος αὐτοὺς εἰς μετουσίαν καὶ ζῆλον ἀρετῆς, ἅμα καὶ τὸν περιττὸν πλοῦτον ἐπιδεικνύμενος αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐξαρκεῖ καὶ τοῖς μὴ λίαν ὠφεληθησομένοις. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐμφαντικώτατα παρίστησιν. ὅταν γὰρ ὕῃ μὲν κατὰ θαλάττης, πηγὰς δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐρημοτάτοις ἀνομβρῇ, τὴν δὲ λεπτόγεων καὶ τραχεῖαν καὶ ἄγονον γῆν ἄρδῃ ποταμοὺς ἀναχέων ταῖς πλημμύραις, τί ἕτερον παρίστησιν ἢ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ τε πλούτου καὶ τῆς ἀγαθότητος ἑαυτοῦ; ἥδ' ἐστὶν αἰτία δι' ἣν ἄγονον οὐδεμίαν ψυχὴν ἐδημιούργησεν ἀγαθοῦ, κἂν ἡ χρῆσις ἀδύνατος ἐνίοις
35 ᾖ αὐτοῦ. ἕτερον δὲ λεκτέον ἐκεῖνο· βούλεται τὰ θέσει δίκαια εἰσαγαγεῖν. ὁ μὲν οὖν μὴ ἐμπνευσθεὶς τὴν ἀληθινὴν ζωήν, ἀλλ' ἄπειρος ὢν ἀρετῆς, κολαζόμενος ἐφ' οἷς ἡμάρτανεν εἶπεν ἂν ὡς ἀδίκως κολάζεται, ἀπειρίᾳ γὰρ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ

endowed with mind and actually alive; for he says, "man became a living soul." XIII. The question might be asked, why God deemed the earthly and body-loving mind worthy of divine breath at all, but not the mind which had been created after the original, and after His own image; in the second place, what "breathed in" means; thirdly, why the breathing is "into the face"; fourthly, why, though he shows his knowledge of the word 'spirit' when he says "and the Spirit of God was borne above the water" (Gen. i. 2), he now says "breath" not "spirit." In answer to the first query, one thing to be said is that God loves to give, and so bestows good things on all, even those who are not perfect, at the same time encouraging them to a zeal for virtue and a participation in it, by displaying His own overflowing wealth, and how there is abundance even for those who will derive no great benefit from it. This characteristic He shows very clearly in other instances also. For when He rains upon the sea, and causes springs to gush forth in the depths of the desert, and waters the poor and rough and barren soil, pouring on it rivers with their overflowings, what else does He prove save the exceeding greatness of His own wealth and goodness? This is the reason for which He created no soul barren of virtue, even if the exercise of it be to some impossible. A second thing to be said is this. It is His will to make compliance with positive ordinances part of duty. One, then, into whom real life had not been breathed, but who was without experience of virtue, when punished for his transgressions would have said that he is unjustly punished, for that it was through inexperience

σφάλλεσθαι περὶ αὐτό, αἴτιον δὲ εἶναι τὸν μηδεμίαν ἐμπνεύσαντα ἔννοιαν αὐτοῦ· τάχα δὲ μηδὲ ἁμαρτάνειν φήσει τὸ παράπαν, εἴ γε τὰ ἀκούσια καὶ κατὰ ἄγνοιαν οὐδὲ ἀδικημάτων ἔχειν λόγον φασί
36 τινες. τό γε μὴν "ἐνεφύσησεν" ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ ἐνέπνευσεν ἢ ἐψύχωσε τὰ ἄψυχα· μὴ γὰρ τοσαύτης ἀτοπίας ἀναπλησθείημεν, ὥστε νομίσαι θεὸν στόματος ἢ μυκτήρων ὀργάνοις χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἐμφυσῆσαι· ἄποιος γὰρ ὁ θεός, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀνθρωπόμορφος. ἐμφαίνει δέ τι καὶ φυσικώτερον
37 ἡ προφορά. τρία γὰρ εἶναι δεῖ, τὸ ἐμπνέον, τὸ δεχόμενον, τὸ ἐμπνεόμενον· τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐμπνέον ἐστὶν ὁ θεός, τὸ δὲ δεχόμενον ὁ νοῦς, τὸ δὲ ἐμπνεό-
[51] μενον τὸ πνεῦμα. τί | οὖν ἐκ τούτων συνάγεται; ἕνωσις γίνεται τῶν τριῶν, τείναντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν διὰ τοῦ μέσου πνεύματος ἄχρι τοῦ ὑποκειμένου—τίνος ἕνεκα ἢ ὅπως ἔννοιαν αὐ-
38 τοῦ λάβωμεν; ἐπεὶ πῶς ἂν ἐνόησεν ἡ ψυχὴ θεόν, εἰ μὴ ἐνέπνευσε καὶ ἥψατο αὐτῆς κατὰ δύναμιν; οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἀπετόλμησε τοσοῦτον ἀναδραμεῖν ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς, ὡς ἀντιλαβέσθαι θεοῦ φύσεως, εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ἀνέσπασεν αὐτὸν πρὸς ἑαυτόν, ὡς ἐνῆν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν ἀνασπασθῆναι, καὶ ἐτύπωσε κατὰ τὰς ἐφικτὰς νοηθῆναι δυνάμεις.

39 εἰς δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐμπνεῖ καὶ φυσικῶς καὶ ἠθικῶς· φυσικῶς μέν, ὅτι ἐν προσώπῳ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἐδημιούργει· τοῦτο γὰρ μάλιστα τοῦ σώματος τὸ μέρος ἐψύχωται [καὶ ἐμπέπνευσται]·

of good that he failed in respect of it, and that the blame lay with Him who had failed to breathe into him any conception of it. Nay, he will perhaps say that he does not sin at all, if (as some say) involuntary acts and acts done in ignorance do not count as wrong deeds. "Breathed into," we note, is equivalent to "inspired" or "be-souled" the soulless; for God forbid that we should be infected with such monstrous folly as to think that God employs for inbreathing organs such as mouth or nostrils; for God is not only not in the form of man, but belongs to no class or kind. Yet the expression clearly brings out something that accords with nature. For it implies of necessity three things, that which inbreathes, that which receives, that which is inbreathed: that which inbreathes is God, that which receives is the mind, that which is inbreathed is the spirit or breath. What, then, do we infer from these premises? A union of the three comes about, as God projects the power that proceeds from Himself through the mediant breath till it reaches the subject. And for what purpose save that we may obtain a conception of Him? For how could the soul have conceived of God, had He not breathed into it and mightily laid hold of it? For the mind of man would never have ventured to soar so high as to grasp the nature of God, had not God Himself drawn it up to Himself, so far as it was possible that the mind of man should be drawn up, and stamped it with the impress of the powers that are within the scope of its understanding.

The breathing "into the face" is to be understood both physically and ethically: physically, because it is in the face that He set the senses; for this part of the body is beyond other parts endowed with soul:

ἠθικῶς δὲ οὕτως· ὥσπερ σώματος ἡγεμονικόν ἐστι
τὸ πρόσωπον, οὕτως ψυχῆς ἡγεμονικόν ἐστιν ὁ
νοῦς· τούτῳ μόνῳ ἐμπνεῖ ὁ θεός, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις
μέρεσιν οὐκ ἀξιοῖ, ταῖς τε αἰσθήσεσι καὶ τῷ λόγῳ
40 καὶ τῷ γονίμῳ· δεύτερα γάρ ἐστι τῇ δυνάμει.
ὑπὸ τίνος οὖν καὶ ταῦτα ἐνεπνεύσθη; ὑπὸ τοῦ
νοῦ δηλονότι· οὗ γὰρ μετέσχεν ὁ νοῦς παρὰ θεοῦ,
τούτου μεταδίδωσι τῷ ἀλόγῳ μέρει τῆς ψυχῆς,
ὥστε τὸν μὲν νοῦν ἐψυχῶσθαι ὑπὸ θεοῦ, τὸ δὲ
ἄλογον ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ· ὡσανεὶ γὰρ θεός ἐστι τοῦ
ἀλόγου ὁ νοῦς, παρὸ καὶ Μωυσῆν οὐκ ὤκνησεν
41 εἰπεῖν "θεὸν τοῦ Φαραώ" (Exod. vii. 1). τῶν
γὰρ γινομένων τὰ μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ θεοῦ γίνεται καὶ δι'
αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ θεοῦ μέν, οὐ δι' αὐτοῦ δέ· τὰ
μὲν οὖν ἄριστα καὶ ὑπὸ θεοῦ γέγονε καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ·
προελθὼν γοῦν ἐρεῖ ὅτι "ἐφύτευσεν ὁ θεὸς παρά-
δεισον" (Gen. ii. 8)· τούτων καὶ ὁ νοῦς ἐστι· τὸ
δὲ ἄλογον ὑπὸ θεοῦ μὲν γέγονεν, οὐ διὰ θεοῦ δέ,
ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦ λογικοῦ τοῦ ἄρχοντός τε καὶ βασι-
42 λεύοντος ἐν ψυχῇ. "πνοὴν" δέ, ἀλλ'
οὐ πνεῦμα, εἴρηκεν, ὡς διαφορᾶς οὔσης· τὸ μὲν
γὰρ πνεῦμα νενόηται κατὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ εὐτονίαν
καὶ δύναμιν, ἡ δὲ πνοὴ ὡς ἂν αὖρά τίς ἐστι καὶ
ἀναθυμίασις ἠρεμαία καὶ πραεῖα. ὁ μὲν οὖν κατὰ
τὴν εἰκόνα γεγονὼς καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν νοῦς πνεύματος
ἂν λέγοιτο κεκοινωνηκέναι—ῥώμην γὰρ ἔχει ὁ
λογισμὸς αὐτοῦ—ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὕλης τῆς κούφης
καὶ ἐλαφροτέρας αὔρας ὡς ἂν ἀποφορᾶς τινος,

but ethically, on this wise. As the face is the dominant element in the body, so is the mind the dominant element of the soul : into this only does God breathe, whereas He does not see fit to do so with the other parts, whether senses or organs of utterance and of reproduction ; for these are secondary in capacity. By what, then, were these also inspired ? By the mind, evidently. For the mind imparts to the portion of the soul that is devoid of reason a share of that which it has received from God, so that the mind was be-souled by God, but the unreasoning part by the mind. For the mind is, so to speak, God of the unreasoning part. In like manner he does not hesitate to speak of Moses as " a God to Pharaoh " (Exod. vii. 1). For of the things which come into being some come into being both by God's power and through God's agency, while others come into being by God's power but not by His agency. The most excellent things were made both by God and through God. For example, he will presently say, " God planted a pleasaunce " (Gen. ii. 8) : to these the mind belongs ; but the part devoid of reason was made by God's power but not by God's agency, but by that of the reasonable power which rules and holds dominion in the soul. He uses the word ' breath ' not ' spirit,' implying a difference between them ; for ' spirit ' is conceived of as connoting strength and vigour and power, while a ' breath ' is like an air or a peaceful and gentle vapour. The mind that was made after the image and original might be said to partake of spirit, for its reasoning faculty possesses robustness ; but the mind that was made out of matter must be said to partake of the light and less substantial air, as of some exhalation,

ὁποῖαι γίνονται ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρωμάτων· φυλαττομένων γὰρ οὐδὲν ἧττον καὶ μὴ ἐκθυμιωμένων εὐωδία τις γίνεται.

43 XIV. "Καὶ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ θεὸς παράδεισον ἐν Ἐδὲμ κατὰ ἀνατολάς· καὶ ἔθετο ἐκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἔπλασε" (Gen. ii. 8). τὴν μετάρσιον καὶ οὐράνιον σοφίαν πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι πολυώνυμον [52] οὖσαν | δεδήλωκε· καὶ γὰρ ἀρχὴν καὶ εἰκόνα καὶ ὅρασιν θεοῦ κέκληκε. ταύτης δ' ὡς ἂν ἀρχετύπου μίμημα τὴν ἐπίγειον σοφίαν νυνὶ παρίστησι διὰ τῆς τοῦ παραδείσου φυτουργίας· μὴ γὰρ τοσαύτη κατάσχοι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον λογισμὸν ἀσέβεια, ὡς ὑπολαβεῖν ὅτι θεὸς γεωπονεῖ καὶ φυτεύει παραδείσους, ἐπεὶ καὶ τίνος ἕνεκα εὐθὺς διαπορήσομεν· οὐ γὰρ ὅπως ἀναπαύλας εὐδιαγώγους καὶ ἡδονὰς ἑαυτῷ πορίζῃ—μηδὲ εἰς νοῦν ἔλθοι ποτὲ τὸν 44 ἡμέτερον ἡ τοιαύτη μυθοποιΐα—· θεοῦ γὰρ οὐδὲ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος ἄξιον ἂν εἴη χωρίον καὶ ἐνδιαίτημα, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ τόπος καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ πλήρης καὶ ἱκανὸς αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ὁ θεός, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιδεᾶ καὶ ἔρημα καὶ κενὰ ὄντα πληρῶν καὶ περιέχων, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἄλλου περιεχόμενος, ἅτε 45 εἷς καὶ τὸ πᾶν αὐτὸς ὤν. τὴν οὖν ἐπίγειον ἀρετὴν σπείρει καὶ φυτεύει τῷ θνητῷ γένει ὁ θεὸς μίμημα καὶ ἀπεικόνισμα οὖσαν τῆς οὐρανίου· ἐλεήσας γὰρ ἡμῶν τὸ γένος καὶ κατιδὼν ὅτι ἐξ ἀφθόνων καὶ πλουσίων κακῶν συνέστηκεν, ἐπίκουρον καὶ ἀρωγὸν τῶν ψυχῆς νόσων ἀρετὴν ἐπίγειον ἐρρίζου, μίμημα, ὡς ἔφην, τῆς οὐρανίου καὶ ἀρχετύπου, ἣν πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι καλεῖ. παράδεισος μὲν δὴ τροπικῶς εἴρηται ἡ ἀρετή, τόπος

such as those that rise from spices: for if they are kept and not burned for incense there is still a sweet perfume from them.

XIV. "And God planted a pleasaunce in Eden toward the sun-rising, and placed there the man whom He had formed" (Gen. ii. 8). By using many words for it Moses has already made it manifest that the sublime and heavenly wisdom is of many names; for he calls it "beginning" and "image" and "vision of God"; and now by the planting of the pleasaunce he brings out the fact that earthly wisdom is a copy of this as of an archetype. Far be it from man's reasoning to be the victim of so great impiety as to suppose that God tills the soil and plants pleasaunces. We should at once be at a loss to tell from what motive He could do so. Not to provide Himself with pleasant refreshment and comfort. Let not such fables even enter our mind. For not even the whole world would be a place fit for God to make His abode, since God is His own place, and He is filled by Himself, and sufficient for Himself, filling and containing all other things in their destitution and barrenness and emptiness, but Himself contained by nothing else, seeing that He is Himself One and the Whole.

Well then, God sows and plants earthly excellence for the race of mortals as a copy and reproduction of the heavenly. For pitying our race and noting that it is compact of a rich abundance of ills, He caused earthly excellence to strike root, to bring succour and aid to the diseases of the soul. It is, as I said before, a copy of the heavenly and archetypal excellence, to which Moses gives many names. Virtue is figuratively called "pleasaunce," and the locality specially suited to the pleasaunce

δὲ οἰκεῖος τῷ παραδείσῳ Ἐδέμ, τοῦτο δέ ἐστι τρυφή· ἀρετῇ δὲ ἁρμόττον εἰρήνη καὶ εὐπάθεια καὶ
46 χαρά, ἐν οἷς τὸ τρυφᾶν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐστι. καὶ μὴν κατὰ ἀνατολάς ἐστιν ἡ φυτουργία τοῦ παραδείσου· οὐ γὰρ δύεται καὶ σβέννυται, ἀλλ᾿ ἀεὶ πέφυκεν ἀνατέλλειν ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος, καὶ ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, ἀνατείλας ἥλιος τὸν ζόφον τοῦ ἀέρος φωτὸς ἐνέπλησεν, οὕτως καὶ ἀρετὴ ἀνατείλασα ἐν ψυχῇ τὴν ἀχλὺν αὐτῆς ἐναυγάζει καὶ τὸν πολὺν σκότον
47 σκεδάννυσι. "καὶ ἔθετο" φησίν "ἐκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἔπλασεν." ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἐπ᾿ ἀρετὴν ὡς οἰκειότατον ἔργον ἀσκῶν τὸ γένος ἡμῶν τὸν νοῦν τίθησιν ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ, ἵνα δηλονότι μηδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ταύτην καθάπερ ἀγαθὸς γεωργὸς τημελῇ καὶ περιέπῃ. XV.
48 ζητήσειε δ᾿ ἄν τις, διὰ τί, τοῦ μιμεῖσθαι θεοῦ τὰ ἔργα ὄντος ὁσίου, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀπηγόρευται φυτεύειν ἄλσος παρὰ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, τὸν δὲ παράδεισον ὁ θεὸς φυτεύει; φησὶ γάρ· "οὐ φυτεύσεις σεαυτῷ ἄλσος, πᾶν ξύλον παρὰ τὸ θυσιαστήριον κυρίου
[53] τοῦ θεοῦ σου οὐ | ποιήσεις σεαυτῷ" (Deut. xvi. 21). τί οὖν λεκτέον; ὅτι πρέπει τῷ θεῷ φυτεύειν
49 καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν ἐν ψυχῇ τὰς ἀρετάς. φίλαυτος δὲ καὶ ἄθεος ὁ νοῦς, οἰόμενος ἴσος εἶναι θεῷ καὶ ποιεῖν δοκῶν ἐν τῷ πάσχειν ἐξεταζόμενος· θεοῦ δὲ σπείροντος καὶ φυτεύοντος ἐν ψυχῇ τὰ καλά, ὁ λέγων νοῦς ὅτι "ἐγὼ φυτεύω" ἀσεβεῖ. οὐ φυτεύσεις οὖν, ὅταν ὁ θεὸς φυτουργῇ· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ φυτὰ ἐν ψυχῇ καταβάλῃ, ὦ διάνοια, καρποτόκα φύτευε πάντα, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλσος, ἐν ἄλσει γὰρ καὶ ἀγρίας ὕλης ἐστὶ καὶ ἡμέρου δένδρα· κακίαν δὲ

"Eden," which means "luxury"; excellence to be sure has for its fit adjuncts peace and welfare and joy, in which true luxury consists. Again the planting of the pleasaunce is "towards the sun-rising," for right reason does not set nor is quenched, but its nature is ever to rise, and, I take it, just as the sun when it has risen fills the gloom of the atmosphere with light, so virtue also, when it has risen in the soul, illumines its mist and disperses its deep darkness. "And He placed there" it says, "the man whom He had formed." For God, being good and training our race to virtue as the operation most proper to it, places the mind amid virtue, evidently to the end that as a good gardener it may spend its care on nothing else but this.

XV. Now the question might be asked, "Why, seeing that to imitate God's works is a pious act, am I forbidden to plant a grove by the altar, while God plants the pleasaunce?" For it says, "Thou shalt not plant thyself a grove: thou shalt not make to thyself any wood by the side of the altar of the Lord thy God" (Deut. xvi. 21). What then are we to say? That it becomes God to plant and to build virtues in the soul, but that the mind shows itself to be without God and full of self-love, when it deems itself as on a par with God; and, whereas passivity is its true part, looks on itself as an agent. When God sows and plants noble qualities in the soul, the mind that says "I plant" is guilty of impiety. Thou shalt not plant, therefore, whensoever God is tending His plants. But if thou *dost* set plants in the soul, O mind, set only fruit-bearing plants. Set not a grove, for in a grove there are both wild and cultivated trees. And to plant in the soul barren wicked-

τὴν ἄγονον ἐν ψυχῇ μετὰ τῆς ἡμέρου καὶ καρποτόκου φυτεύειν ἀρετῆς λέπρας ἐστὶ τῆς διφυοῦς
50 καὶ μιγάδος οἰκεῖον. ἐὰν μέντοι γε τὰ ἄμικτα καὶ σύγκλυδα εἰς ταὐτὸν ἄγῃς, χώριζε καὶ διάκρινε τῆς καθαρᾶς καὶ ἀμιάντου φύσεως τῆς ἀναφερούσης τὰ ἄμωμα τῷ θεῷ, αὕτη δέ ἐστι τὸ θυσιαστήριον· τούτου γὰρ ἀλλότριον τὸ λέγειν ἔργον τι εἶναι ψυχῆς, ἐπὶ θεὸν πάντων λαμβανόντων τὴν ἀναφοράν, καὶ τὸ τὰ ἄκαρπα τοῖς καρποτόκοις ἀναμιγνύναι· μῶμος γὰρ τοῦτό γε, τὰ δὲ ἄμωμα
51 τῷ θεῷ προσάγεται. ἐὰν οὖν τι τούτων παραβῇς, ὦ ψυχή, σαυτὴν βλάψεις, οὐ θεόν· διὰ τοῦτό φησιν· "οὐ φυτεύσεις σεαυτῷ"· θεῷ γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐργάζεται, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ φαῦλα· καὶ ἐπιφέρει πάλιν· "οὐ ποιήσεις σεαυτῷ." λέγει δὲ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις· "οὐ ποιήσετε μετ' ἐμοῦ θεοὺς ἀργυροῦς, καὶ θεοὺς χρυσοὺς οὐ ποιήσετε ὑμῖν ἑαυτοῖς" (Exod. xx. 23)· ὁ γὰρ ἢ ποιότητα οἰόμενος ἔχειν τὸν θεὸν ἢ μὴ ἕνα εἶναι ἢ μὴ ἀγένητον καὶ ἄφθαρτον ἢ μὴ ἄτρεπτον ἑαυτὸν ἀδικεῖ, οὐ θεόν· "ἑαυτοῖς" γάρ φησιν "οὐ ποιήσετε"· δεῖ γὰρ ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ ἄποιον αὐτὸν καὶ ἕνα καὶ ἄφθαρτον καὶ ἄτρεπτον· ὁ δὲ μὴ οὕτως διανοούμενος ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ψευδοῦς καὶ ἀθέου δόξης ἀναπίμπλησιν.
52 οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι, κἂν εἰσαγάγῃ ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ εἰσαχθέντες φυτεύσωμεν ἄκαρπον μὲν οὐδὲν "πᾶν δὲ ξύλον βρώσιμον," κελεύει "περικαθαρίσαι τὴν ἀκαθαρσίαν αὐτοῦ" (Lev. xix. 23);

[a] Philo plays on the two senses of ἀναφέρειν, "offer" and "refer."

ness by the side of cultivated and fruit-yielding virtue is like leprosy with its twofold growths and blending of discordant hues. If, however, thou *dost* bring into the same place things heterogeneous and incapable of mixture, let them be separate and distinct from the pure and unsullied growth that offers up fruits free from blemish to God. And it is such a growth that is meant by the altar of sacrifice : for it is a violation of this to say that anything is the (independent) work of the soul, since there is nothing there that has not reference[a] to God. To say that is to mingle the barren with the fruit-bearing. And this is a blemish, whereas only things without blemish are offered to God. If then thou transgress in any of these respects, O soul, thou wilt injure thyself, not God ; that is why it says " thou shalt not plant *to thyself* " ; for to God no one does such tillage, above all when the plants are bad ones ; and it goes on to say, " thou shalt not make *to thyself*." It says also in another case, " Ye shall not make together with Me gods of silver, and gods of gold ye shall not make to yourselves " (Exod. xx. 23). For he that thinks either that God belongs to a type, or that He is not one, or that He is not unoriginate and incorruptible, or that He is not incapable of change, wrongs himself not God ; for it says, " to yourselves ye shall not make " ; for we must deem that He belongs to no type, and that He is One and incorruptible and unchangeable. He that does not so conceive infects his own soul with a false and godless opinion. Do you not see that, even if He bring us into virtue and even if, when brought in, we plant no fruitless thing but " every tree good for food," He yet commands us " thoroughly to cleanse its uncleanness "

τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ δοκεῖν φυτεύειν· ἀποτεμεῖν οἴησιν γὰρ ἐπαγγέλλεται, οἴησις δὲ ἀκάθαρτον
53 φύσει. XVI. ὃν δὲ ἔπλασεν ἄνθρωπον τιθέναι φησὶν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ νυνὶ μόνον· τίς οὖν ἐστιν, ἐφ' οὗ ὕστερόν φησιν ὅτι "ἔλαβε κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἐποίησε[1] καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ φυλάσσειν" (Gen. ii. 15); μήποτ' οὖν ἕτερός ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος οὗτος, ὁ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν γεγονώς, ὥστε δύο ἀνθρώπους εἰς τὸν παράδεισον εἰσάγεσθαι, τὸν μὲν πεπλασμένον, τὸν
54 δὲ κατ' εἰκόνα. ὁ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν ἰδέαν γεγονὼς
[54] οὐ | μόνον ἐν ταῖς φυτουργίαις τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐξετάζεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐργάτης ἐστὶν αὐτῶν καὶ φύλαξ, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ μνήμων ὧν ἤκουσε καὶ ἤσκησεν· ὁ δὲ πλαστὸς οὔτε ἐργάζεται τὰς ἀρετὰς οὔτε φυλάττει, ἀλλὰ μόνον εἰσάγεται εἰς τὰ δόγματα ἀφθονίᾳ θεοῦ, μέλλων αὐτίκα φυγὰς ἀρετῆς
55 ἔσεσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο ὃν μὲν μόνον τίθησιν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, πλαστὸν καλεῖ, ὃν δὲ καὶ ἐργάτην καὶ φύλακα ἀποδείκνυσιν, οὐ πλαστόν, ἀλλὰ "ὃν ἐποίησε"· καὶ τοῦτον μὲν λαμβάνει, ἐκεῖνον δὲ ἐκβάλλει. ὃν δὲ λαμβάνει, τριῶν ἀξιοῖ, ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκεν ἡ εὐφυΐα, εὐθιξίας, ἐπιμονῆς, μνήμης· ἡ μὲν οὖν εὐθιξία θέσις ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, ἡ δὲ ἐπιμονὴ πρᾶξις τῶν καλῶν [τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι τὰ καλά], ἡ δὲ μνήμη φυλακὴ καὶ διατήρησις τῶν ἁγίων δογμάτων. ὁ δὲ πλαστὸς νοῦς οὔτε μνημο-

[1] We must suppose that Philo found ἐποίησε in his text of LXX.

(Lev. xix. 23)? And this means the notion that we are planting, for it is the cutting away of self-conceit that He demands, and self-conceit is in its nature unclean. XVI. Speaking here of the man whom God moulded, it merely says that He "placed him in the garden." Who then is it of whom it says later on "The Lord God took the man whom He had made, and placed him in the garden to till it and to guard it" (Gen. ii. 15)? It would seem then that this is a different man, the one that was made after the image and archetype, so that two men are introduced into the garden, the one a moulded being, the other "after the image." The one then that was made according to the original has his sphere not only in the planting of virtues but is also their tiller and guardian, and that means that he is mindful of all that he heard and practised in his training; but the "moulded" man neither tills the virtues nor guards them, but is only introduced to the truths by the rich bounty of God, presently to be an exile from virtue. For this reason in describing the man whom God only places in the garden, Moses uses the word "moulded," but of the man whom He appoints both tiller and guardian he speaks not as "moulded," but he says "whom He had made"; and the one He receives, and the other He casts out. And He confers on him whom He receives three gifts, which constitute natural ability, facility in apprehending, persistence in doing, tenacity in keeping. Facility in apprehending is the placing in the garden, persistence in doing is the practice of noble deeds, tenacity in keeping the guarding and retaining in the memory of the holy precepts. But the "moulded" mind neither keeps in mind nor

νεύει τὰ καλὰ οὔτε ἐργάζεται, μόνον δὲ εὔθικτός ἐστι· παρὸ καὶ τεθεὶς ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀποδιδράσκει καὶ ἐκβάλλεται.

56 XVII. "Καὶ ἐξανέτειλεν ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῆς γῆς πᾶν ξύλον ὡραῖον εἰς ὅρασιν καὶ καλὸν εἰς βρῶσιν, καὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ παραδείσῳ, καὶ τὸ ξύλον τοῦ εἰδέναι γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ" (Gen. ii. 9). ἃ φυτεύει ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ δένδρα ἀρετῆς, νῦν ὑπογράφει· ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα αἵ τε κατὰ μέρος ἀρεταὶ καὶ αἱ κατ᾽ αὐτὰς ἐνέργειαι, καὶ τὰ κατορθώματα, καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα παρὰ τοῖς
57 φιλοσοφοῦσι καθήκοντα· ταῦτά ἐστι τοῦ παραδείσου τὰ φυτά. χαρακτηρίζει μέντοι γε αὐτὰ ταῦτα, δηλῶν ὅτι τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ὀφθῆναι κάλλιστόν ἐστι καὶ ἀπολαυσθῆναι· ἔνιαι γὰρ τῶν τεχνῶν θεωρητικαὶ μέν εἰσιν, οὐ πρακτικαὶ δέ, γεωμετρία, ἀστρονομία, ἔνιαι δὲ πρακτικαὶ μέν, οὐ θεωρητικαὶ δέ, τεκτονική, χαλκευτική, καὶ ὅσαι βάναυσοι λέγονται· ἡ δὲ ἀρετὴ καὶ θεωρητική ἐστι καὶ πρακτική· καὶ γὰρ θεωρίαν ἔχει, ὁπότε καὶ ἡ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν ὁδὸς φιλοσοφία διὰ τῶν τριῶν αὐτῆς μερῶν, τοῦ λογικοῦ, τοῦ ἠθικοῦ, τοῦ φυσικοῦ, καὶ πράξεις· ὅλου γὰρ τοῦ βίου ἐστὶ τέχνη ἡ
58 ἀρετή, ἐν ᾧ καὶ αἱ σύμπασαι πράξεις. ἀλλὰ καίτοι θεωρίαν ἔχουσα καὶ πρᾶξιν, πάλιν ἐν ἑκατέρῳ ὑπερβάλλει κατὰ τὸ κρεῖττον· καὶ γὰρ ἡ θεωρία τῆς ἀρετῆς παγκάλη, καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις καὶ ἡ χρῆσις περιμάχητος. διὸ καί φησιν ὅτι καὶ "εἰς ὅρασίν ἐστιν ὡραῖον," ὅπερ ἦν τοῦ θεωρητικοῦ σύμβολον, καὶ "καλὸν εἰς βρῶσιν," ὅπερ ἐστὶ

[a] *Cf.* Cicero, *De Officiis* i. 3. 8, iii. 3. 14, κατορθώματα are *honesta* or *recta*; τὰ καθήκοντα are *media* or *communia*.

carries out in action the things that are noble, but has facility in apprehending them and no more than this. Accordingly after being placed in the garden he soon runs away and is cast out.

XVII. "And God caused to spring out of the ground every tree fair to behold and good for food, and the tree of life in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil" (Gen. ii. 9). Moses now indicates what trees of virtue God plants in the soul. These are the several particular virtues, and the corresponding activities, and the complete moral victories, and what philosophers call *καθήκοντα* or common duties.[a] These are the plants of the garden. These very plants he characterizes, showing that what is good is also most fair to be seen and enjoyed. For some of the arts and sciences are theoretical indeed but not practical,[b] such as geometry and astronomy, and some are practical, but not theoretical, as the arts of the carpenter and coppersmith, and all that are called mechanical; but virtue is both theoretical and practical; for clearly it involves theory, since philosophy, the road that leads to it, involves it through its three parts,[b] logic, ethics, physics; and it involves conduct, for virtue is the art of the whole of life, and life includes all kinds of conduct. But while virtue involves theory and practice, it is furthermore of surpassing excellence in each respect; for indeed the theory of virtue is perfect in beauty, and the practice and exercise of it a prize to be striven for. Wherefore he says that it is both "beautiful to look upon," an expression signifying its aspect as theory, and "good to eat,"

[b] See App. p. 477.

τοῦ χρηστικοῦ καὶ πρακτικοῦ σημεῖον.
59 XVIII. τὸ δὲ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ἐστιν ἡ γενικωτάτη
ἀρετή, ἥν τινες ἀγαθότητα καλοῦσιν, ἀφ᾽ ἧς αἱ
κατὰ μέρος ἀρεταὶ συνίστανται. τούτου χάριν
καὶ μέσον ἵδρυται τοῦ παραδείσου, τὴν συνεκτικω-
τάτην χώραν ἔχον, ἵνα ὑπὸ τῶν ἑκατέρωθεν,
[55] βασιλέως | τρόπον, δορυφορῆται. οἱ δὲ λέγουσι
τὴν καρδίαν ξύλον εἰρῆσθαι ζωῆς, ἐπειδὴ αἰτία
τε τοῦ ζῆν ἐστι καὶ τὴν μέσην τοῦ σώματος
χώραν ἔλαχεν, ὡς ἂν κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἡγεμονικὸν
ὑπάρχουσα. ἀλλ᾽ οὗτοι μὲν ἰατρικὴν δόξαν ἐκ-
τιθέμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ φυσικὴν μὴ λανθανέτωσαν,
ἡμεῖς δέ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἐλέχθη, τὴν γενικωτάτην
60 ἀρετὴν ξύλον εἰρῆσθαι ζωῆς λέγομεν. τοῦτο μὲν
οὖν ῥητῶς φησιν ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐν μέσῳ τῷ παραδείσῳ·
τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ξύλον, τὸ τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ
πονηρόν, οὐ δεδήλωκεν οὔτε εἰ ἐντὸς οὔτε εἰ ἐκτός
ἐστι τοῦ παραδείσου, ἀλλ᾽ εἰπὼν οὕτως "καὶ τὸ
ξύλον τοῦ εἰδέναι γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ"
εὐθὺς ἡσύχασεν οὐ δηλώσας ὅπου τετύχηκεν ὄν,
ἵνα μὴ ὁ φυσιολογίας ἀμύητος τὸν τόπον[1] τῆς
61 ἐπιστήμης θαυμάζῃ. τί οὖν χρὴ λέγειν; ὅτι τὸ
ξύλον τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐκτὸς
αὐτοῦ, οὐσίᾳ μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ, δυνάμει δὲ ἐκτός.
πῶς; τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἡμῶν πανδεχές ἐστι καὶ

[1] Reading τόπον for ὄντα, as Cohn (after Jost) suggests. See note *b*, on p. 36 of Heinemann's translation, signed "L. C.," and App. p. 478.

[a] See Vol. II. App. p. 492, note on *De Sac.* 136.

[b] Philo apparently means that Moses refrained from mentioning where the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil was situated, lest its locality should become an object of awe and wonder to the ignorant. φυσιολογία is the *naturae species*

words which point to its excellence in exercise and practice. XVIII. Now the tree of life is virtue in the most comprehensive sense, which some term goodness. From it the particular virtues derive their existence. That is why it is also set in the midst of the garden, occupying the central all-embracing position, that it may, like a king, be attended by those on either side as by body-guards. But some say that it is the heart that is called the tree of life, since it is the cause of life and has been allotted the central place in the body, as it naturally would, being in their view the dominating principle.[a] But these people should remember that they are setting forth a view worthy of the physician rather than of the philosopher, while we, as we have said, maintain that virtue in its most generic aspect is called the tree of life. Of this he expressly says that it is in the midst of the garden, but as to the other tree, that of knowing good and evil, he has not made it clear whether it is within or without the garden, but immediately after the words, " and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil," he comes to a stop without making it clear where it was. His silence is due to his desire to prevent the man unversed in natural philosophy from regarding with wonder the spot where that knowledge dwells.[b] What then must we say ? That this tree is both in the garden and outside it, in literal fact in it, virtually outside it. How so ? Our dominant part is all-receptive and

ratioque of Lucretius (i. 147, ii. 58, iii. 91, vi. 38) which *terrorem animi tenebrasque necesse est Discutiat*. So Plutarch says " Philosophic reason does away with the *wonder and awe* (θαῦμα καὶ θάμβος) due to unenlightenment and ignorance." (" On the Student at Lectures," § 44, Tucker's Translation.) See App. pp. 477, 478.

ἔοικε κηρῷ πάντας τύπους καλούς τε καὶ αἰσχροὺς δεχομένῳ· παρὸ καὶ ὁ πτερνιστὴς Ἰακὼβ ὁμολογεῖ φάσκων "Ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐγένετο πάντα ταῦτα" (Gen. xlii. 36)· ἐπὶ γὰρ μίαν οὖσαν τὴν ψυχὴν αἱ ἀμύθητοι τυπώσεις ἁπάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ παντὶ ἀναφέρονται· ὅταν μὲν οὖν δέξηται τὸν τῆς τελείας ἀρετῆς χαρακτῆρα, γέγονε τὸ τῆς ζωῆς ξύλον, ὅταν δὲ τὸν τῆς κακίας, γέγονε τὸ τοῦ εἰδέναι γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ· ἡ δὲ κακία πεφυγάδευται θείου χοροῦ· τὸ δεδεγμένον οὖν αὐτὴν ἡγεμονικὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, ἐν αὐτῷ γάρ ἐστι καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀρετῆς χαρακτὴρ οἰκεῖος ὢν τῷ παραδείσῳ, δυνάμει δὲ πάλιν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ, ὅτι ὁ τύπος ὁ κακίας ἀλλότριός
62 ἐστι θείων ἀνατολῶν. ὃ δὲ λέγω, καὶ οὕτως ἂν τις καταμάθοι. νῦν ἐν τῷ σώματί μου τὸ ἡγεμονικόν ἐστι κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, δυνάμει δὲ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἢ Σικελίᾳ, ὁπότε περὶ τῶν χωρῶν τούτων ἐπιλογίζεται, καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὁπότε περὶ οὐρανοῦ σκοπεῖ· παρὸ καὶ πολλάκις ἐν βεβήλοις ὄντες χωρίοις τινὲς κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐν ἱερωτάτοις ὑπάρχουσι, φαντασιούμενοι τὰ ἀρετῆς, καὶ ἔμπαλιν, ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις ὑπάρχοντες ἄλλοι τὴν διάνοιάν εἰσι βέβηλοι, τῷ τροπὰς πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον καὶ τύπους αὐτὴν λαμβάνειν φαύλους· ὥστε οὔτε ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἡ κακία ἐστὶν οὔτε οὐχί ἐστι· δύναται μὲν γὰρ εἶναι κατ' οὐσίαν, δυνάμει δὲ οὐ δύναται.

63 XIX. "Ποταμὸς δὲ ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ Ἐδὲμ ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον· ἐκεῖθεν ἀφορίζεται εἰς
[56] τέσσαρας ἀρχάς. ὄνομα | τῷ ἑνὶ Φεισών· οὗτος ὁ κυκλῶν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Εὐιλάτ, ἐκεῖ οὗ ἐστι τὸ

resembles wax that receives all impresssions fair and ugly; accordingly the supplanter Jacob makes acknowledgement saying, "Upon me came all these things" (Gen. xlii. 36); for upon the soul, one as it is, the countless impressions of all things in the universe are borne. Whenever, then, it shall have received the stamp of perfect virtue, it straightway becomes the tree of life, but when it receives that of wickedness, it straightway becomes the tree of knowledge of good and evil. But wickedness has been exiled from the divine choir.[a] The ruling part in us therefore that has received it is actually in the garden, for it has in it likewise the stamp of virtue, properly belonging to the garden; but on the other hand it is virtually not in it, because the impress of wickedness is alien to a place of divine sunrising. You may grasp what I mean in this way. At this moment my ruling part is in literal fact in my body, but virtually in Italy or Sicily, when it is pondering on these countries, and in heaven, when it is considering heaven. Accordingly it often happens that people who are actually in unconsecrated spots are really in most sacred ones, when they are forming images of all that pertains to virtue. Others, on the other hand, who are in consecrated spots are in mind profane, owing to their mind admitting bad impressions and inclinations to what is unworthy. Thus wickedness neither *is* in the garden, nor is it *not* in it, for it can be there actually, but virtually it cannot.

XIX. "A river goes forth from Eden to water the garden: thence it is separated into four heads; the name of the one is Pheison; this is that which encircles all the land of Evilat, there where the gold

[a] Plato, *Phaedrus* 247 A.

χρυσίον· τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης καλόν· καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐστιν ὁ ἄνθραξ καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος. καὶ ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ δευτέρῳ Γηών· οὗτος κυκλοῖ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Αἰθιοπίας. καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ τρίτος Τίγρις· οὗτος ὁ πορευόμενος κατέναντι Ἀσσυρίων. ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς ὁ τέταρτος Εὐφράτης" (Gen. ii. 10–14). διὰ τούτων βούλεται τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἀρετὰς ὑπογράφειν· εἰσὶ δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τέτταρες, φρόνησις σωφροσύνη ἀνδρεία δικαιοσύνη. ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγιστος ποταμός, οὗ αἱ τέτταρες ἀπόρροιαι γεγόνασιν, ἡ γενική ἐστιν ἀρετή, ἣν ἀγαθότητα ὠνομάσαμεν, αἱ δὲ τέτταρες ἀπόρροιαι
64 αἱ ἰσάριθμοι ἀρεταί. λαμβάνει μὲν οὖν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἡ γενικὴ ἀρετὴ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐδέμ, τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας, ἣ χαίρει καὶ γάνυται καὶ τρυφᾷ ἐπὶ μόνῳ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῆς ἀγαλλομένη καὶ σεμνυνομένη θεῷ, αἱ δὲ ἐν εἴδει τέτταρες ἀπὸ τῆς γενικῆς, ἥτις ποταμοῦ δίκην ἄρδει τὰ κατορθώματα ἑκάσταις πολλῷ ῥεύματι καλῶν πράξεων.
65 ἴδωμεν δὲ καὶ τὰς λέξεις. "ποταμὸς δὲ" φησίν "ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ Ἐδὲμ ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον." ποταμὸς ἡ γενική ἐστιν ἀρετή, ἡ ἀγαθότης· αὕτη ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ τῆς Ἐδέμ, τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας· ἡ δέ ἐστιν ὁ θεοῦ λόγος· κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτον πεποίηται ἡ γενικὴ ἀρετή. τὸν παράδεισον δὲ ποτίζει ἡ γενικὴ ἀρετή, τουτέστι τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἀρετὰς ἄρδει. "ἀρχὰς" δὲ οὐ τὰς τοπικὰς λαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἡγεμονικάς· ἑκάστη γὰρ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἡγεμονὶς καὶ βασιλὶς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐστι. τὸ δὲ "ἀφορίζεται" ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ ὅροις πεπεράτωται· ἡ μὲν φρόνησις περὶ τὰ ποιητέα ὅρους αὐτοῖς τιθεῖσα, ἡ δὲ ἀνδρεία τοῖς ὑπομενετέοις, ἡ δὲ

is ; and the gold of that land is good ; and there is the ruby and the emerald. And the name of the second river is Geon ; this encompasses all the land of Aethiopia. And the third river is Tigris ; this is that whose course is in front of Assyria. And the fourth river is Euphrates " (Gen. ii. 10-14). By these rivers his purpose is to indicate the particular virtues. These are four in number,[a] prudence, self-mastery, courage, justice. The largest river, of which the four are effluxes, is generic virtue, which we have called "goodness." The four effluxes are the virtues of the same number. Generic virtue takes its start from Eden, the wisdom of God, which is full of joy, and brightness, and exultation, glorying and priding itself only upon God its Father ; but the specific virtues, four in number, are derived from generic virtue, which like a river waters the perfect achievements of each of them with an abundant flow of noble doings. Let us look too at the particular words used. " A river," it says " issues forth from Eden to water the garden." "River" is generic virtue, goodness. This issues forth out of Eden, the wisdom of God, and this is the Reason of God ; for after that has generic virtue been made. And generic virtue waters the garden, that is, it waters the particular virtues. "Heads" he takes not in the sense of locality but of sovereignty. For each of the virtues is in very deed a sovereign and a queen. " Is separated " is equivalent to ' has boundaries to define it.' Prudence, concerned with things to be done, sets boundaries round them ; courage round things to be endured ; self-mastery

[a] The four cardinal virtues belong, of course, to Platonism, though adopted by later philosophers.

σωφροσύνη τοῖς αἱρετέοις, ἡ δὲ δικαιοσύνη τοῖς ἀπονεμητέοις.

66 XX. "Ὄνομα τῷ ἑνὶ Φεισών· οὗτος ὁ κυκλῶν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Εὐιλάτ, ἐκεῖ οὗ ἐστι τὸ χρυσίον, τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης καλόν· καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐστιν ὁ ἄνθραξ καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος." τῶν τεττάρων ἀρετῶν ἓν εἶδός ἐστιν ἡ φρόνησις, ἣν Φεισὼν ὠνόμασε παρὰ τὸ φείδεσθαι[a] καὶ φυλάττειν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ ἀδικημάτων. χορεύει δὲ καὶ κύκλῳ περίεισι τὴν γῆν Εὐιλάτ, τοῦτο δέ ἐστι, τὴν εὐμενῆ καὶ πραεῖαν καὶ ἵλεων κατάστασιν
[57] περιέπει· καθάπερ δὲ | τῆς χυτῆς οὐσίας ἡ κρατίστη καὶ δοκιμωτάτη χρυσός ἐστιν, οὕτως καὶ ψυχῆς
67 ἡ δοκιμωτάτη ἀρετὴ φρόνησις γέγονε. τὸ δὲ "ἐκεῖ οὗ ἐστι τὸ χρυσίον" οὐκ ἔστι τοπικὸν τοιοῦτον, ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἐστὶ τὸ χρυσίον, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ οὗ κτῆμά ἐστιν ἡ χρυσαυγὴς καὶ πεπυρωμένη καὶ τιμία φρόνησις· κτῆμα δὲ θεοῦ κάλλιστον ἥδε ἀνωμολόγηται. κατὰ δὲ τὸν τόπον τῆς φρονήσεως δύο εἰσὶ ποιοί, ὅ τε φρόνιμος καὶ ὁ φρονῶν, οὓς ἄνθρακι καὶ λίθῳ πρασίνῳ παραβέβληκεν.

68 XXI. "Καὶ ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ δευτέρῳ Γηών· οὗτος κυκλοῖ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Αἰθιοπίας." συμβολικῶς ἐστιν ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος ἡ ἀνδρεία· ἑρμηνευθὲν γὰρ τὸ Γηὼν ὄνομά ἐστι στῆθος ἢ κερατίζων· ἑκάτερον δὲ ἀνδρείας μηνυτικόν· περί τε γὰρ τὰ στήθη, ὅπου καὶ ἡ καρδία, διατρίβει καὶ πρὸς ἄμυναν εὐτρέπισται· ἐπιστήμη γάρ ἐστιν ὑπομενετέων καὶ οὐχ ὑπομενετέων καὶ οὐδετέρων. περικυκλοῖ δὲ καὶ περικάθηται προσπολεμοῦσα τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν, ἧς ἐστιν ἑρμηνευθὲν τοὔνομα

[a] φείδεσθαι = "to spare."

round things to be chosen: justice round things to be awarded.

XX. "The name of the one is Pheison. This is that which encompasseth all the land of Evilat, there where the gold is; and the gold of that land is good; and there is the ruby and the emerald." One species of the four virtues is prudence, which he has called "Pheison," owing to its 'sparing'[a] and guarding the soul from deeds of wrong. And it encircles in its roundel the land of Evilat; that is to say, it cherishes with care the kindly and gentle and gracious disposition; and, as of all smelted substance the most excellent and most approved is gold, so of the soul too the most approved virtue is prudence. And the words, "there where (or 'whose') the gold is" are not a mere piece of local information, there where the gold is, but there (is He) whose is the treasure, even prudence gleaming like gold, tried by the fire, and precious; and prudence is acknowledged to be God's fairest treasure. And in the place where prudence dwells are two corresponding concretes, the man who is prudent, and the man who exercises prudence. These he likens to ruby and emerald.

XXI. "And the name of the second river is Geon; this encircles all the land of Ethiopia." This river figuratively represents courage; for the word Geon is 'breast' or 'butting'; and each of these indicates courage; for it has its abode about men's breasts, where the heart also is, and it is fully equipped for self-defence; for it is the knowledge of things that we ought to endure and not to endure, and of things that fall under neither head.[b] And it encompasses and beleaguers Ethiopia, whose name being inter-

[b] This definition of ἀνδρεία is Stoic (*S.V.F.* iii. 262 ff.).

ταπείνωσις· ταπεινὸν δὲ ἡ δειλία, ἡ δὲ ἀνδρεία ταπεινώσει καὶ δειλίᾳ πολέμιον.

69 "Καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ τρίτος Τίγρις, οὗτος ὁ πορευόμενος κατέναντι Ἀσσυρίων." τρίτη ἐστὶν ἀρετὴ σωφροσύνη, ἀντιστατοῦσα τῇ κατευθύνειν δοκούσῃ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν ἡδονῇ· Ἀσσύριοι γὰρ εὐθύνοντες Ἑλλάδι γλώττῃ καλοῦνται. τίγριδι δὲ τῷ ἀτιθασωτάτῳ ζῴῳ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν εἴκασε, περὶ ἣν ἡ σωφροσύνη πραγματεύεται.

70 XXII. ἄξιον μέντοι ἀπορῆσαι, διὰ τί δευτέρα μὲν ἀνδρεία, τρίτη δὲ σωφροσύνη, πρώτη δὲ φρόνησις εἴρηται, καὶ οὐχ ἑτέραν τῶν ἀρετῶν τάξιν δεδήλωκε. νοητέον οὖν ὅτι ἐστὶν ἡμῶν τριμερὴς ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ ἔχει μέρος τὸ μὲν λογικόν, τὸ δὲ θυμικόν, τὸ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικόν. καὶ συμβέβηκε τοῦ μὲν λογικοῦ χωρίον εἶναι καὶ ἐνδιαίτημα τὴν κεφαλήν, τοῦ δὲ θυμικοῦ τὰ στέρνα, τοῦ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικοῦ τὸ ἦτρον, ἀρετὴν δὲ ἑκάστῳ τῶν μερῶν οἰκείαν προσηρμόσθαι, τῷ μὲν λογικῷ φρόνησιν, λογισμοῦ γάρ ἐστιν ἐπιστήμην ἔχειν ὧν τε δεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ ὧν μή, τῷ δὲ θυμικῷ ἀνδρείαν,
[58] τῷ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικῷ σωφροσύνην, | σωφροσύνῃ γὰρ
71 τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἀκούμεθα καὶ ἰώμεθα. ὥσπερ οὖν κεφαλὴ μὲν πρῶτον τοῦ ζῴου καὶ ἀνωτάτω μέρος ἐστί, δεύτερον δὲ στέρνα, τρίτον δὲ ἦτρον, καὶ πάλιν ψυχῆς πρῶτον μὲν τὸ λογικόν, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ θυμικόν, τρίτον δὲ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, οὕτως καὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν πρώτη μὲν ἡ περὶ τὸ πρῶτον μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς, ὃ δὴ λογικόν ἐστι, καὶ τοῦ σώματος διατρίβουσα κεφαλὴν φρόνησις, δευτέρα

[a] See App. p. 478.

preted is ‘ lowness ’ ; and cowardice is a low thing, while courage is a foe to lowness and cowardice.

“ And the third river is Tigris ; this is that whose course is over against the Assyrians.” Self-mastery is the third virtue, and takes its stand against pleasure, which thinks that it can direct the course of human weakness ; for expressed in the Greek tongue “ Assyrians ” is ‘ directing.’ He further compares desire, with which self-mastery is occupied, to a tiger, the animal least capable of being tamed. XXII. It is worth inquiring why courage is mentioned in the second place, self-mastery in the third, and prudence in the first, and why he has not set forth a different order of the virtues. We must observe, then, that our soul is threefold,[a] and has one part that is the seat of reason, another that is the seat of high spirit, and another that is the seat of desire. And we discover that the head is the place and abode of the reasonable part, the breast of the passionate part, the abdomen of the lustful part ; and that to each of the parts a virtue proper to it has been attached ; prudence to the reasonable part, for it belongs to reason to have knowledge of the things we ought to do and of the things we ought not ; courage to the passionate part ; and self-mastery to the lustful part. For it is by self-mastery that we heal and cure our desires. As, then, the head is the first and highest part of the living creature, the breast the second, and the abdomen the third, and again of the soul the reasoning faculty is first, the high-spirited second, the lustful third : so too of the virtues, first is prudence which has its sphere in the first part of the soul which is the domain of reason, and in the first part of the body, namely the head ; and second is courage, for it has its seat in high

δὲ ἀνδρεία, ὅτι περὶ τὸ δεύτερον μέρος ψυχῆς μὲν θυμόν, σώματος δὲ τὰ στέρνα φωλεύει, τρίτη δὲ σωφροσύνη, ὅτι περὶ τὸ ἦτρον, ὃ δὴ τρίτον ἐστὶ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ περὶ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, ὃ τρίτην εἴληχε χώραν ἐν ψυχῇ, πραγματεύεται.

72 XXIII. "Ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς" φησίν "ὁ τέταρτος Εὐφράτης." καρποφορία καλεῖται ὁ Εὐφράτης, ἔστι δὲ συμβολικῶς ἀρετὴ τετάρτη, δικαιοσύνη, καρποφόρος τῷ ὄντι καὶ εὐφραίνουσα τὴν διάνοιαν. πότε οὖν γίνεται; ὅταν τὰ τρία μέρη τῆς ψυχῆς συμφωνίαν ἔχῃ· συμφωνία δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἡ τοῦ κρείττονος ἡγεμονία, οἷον ὅταν τὰ δύο, τό τε θυμικὸν καὶ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, ἡνιοχῶνται καθάπερ ἵπποι ὑπὸ τοῦ λογικοῦ, τότε γίνεται δικαιοσύνη· δίκαιον γὰρ τὸ μὲν κρεῖττον ἄρχειν ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ, τὸ δὲ χεῖρον ἄρχεσθαι· κρεῖττον μὲν δὴ τὸ λογικόν, χεῖρον δὲ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικὸν καὶ τὸ θυμικόν.
73 ὅταν δὲ ἔμπαλιν ἀφηνιάσῃ καὶ ἀναχαιτίσῃ ὁ θυμὸς καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία, καὶ τὸν ἡνίοχον, λέγω δὲ τὸν λογισμόν, τῇ βίᾳ τῆς ὁρμῆς κατασύρῃ καὶ ὑποζεύξῃ, ἑκάτερον δὲ πάθος λάβηται τῶν ἡνιῶν, ἀδικία κρατεῖ· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἀπειρίᾳ καὶ κακίᾳ ⟨τοῦ⟩ ἡνιόχου τὰ ὑπεζευγμένα κατὰ κρημνῶν φέρεσθαι καὶ βαράθρων, ὥσπερ ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ διασῴζεσθαι.

74 XXIV. Ἔτι καὶ οὕτως ἴδωμεν τὸ προκείμενον. Φεισὼν ἑρμηνεύεται στόματος ἀλλοίωσις, Εὐιλὰτ δὲ ὠδίνουσα· καὶ διὰ τούτων ἡ φρόνησις ἐμφαίνεται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ φρόνιμον νομίζουσι τὸν εὑρετὴν λόγων σοφιστικῶν καὶ δεινὸν ἑρμηνεῦσαι τὸ νοηθέν, Μωυσῆς δὲ λογοφίλην μὲν αὐτὸν

[a] See Plato, *Phaedrus* 253 D.

spirit, the second part of the soul, and in the breast, the corresponding part of the body; and third self-mastery, for its sphere of action is the abdomen, which is of course the third part of the body, and the lustful faculty, to which has been assigned the third place in the soul.

XXIII. "The fourth river," he says, "is Euphrates." "Euphrates" means 'fruitfulness,' and is a figurative name for the fourth virtue, justice, a virtue fruitful indeed and bringing gladness to the mind. When, then, does it appear? When the three parts of the soul are in harmony. Harmony for them is the dominance of the more excellent; for instance, when the two, the high-spirited and the lustful, are guided by the reasoning faculty as horses by their driver, then justice emerges; for it is justice for the better to rule always and everywhere, and for the worse to be ruled: and the reasoning faculty is better, the lustful and the high-spirited the inferior. Whenever, on the other hand, high spirit and desire turn restive and get out of hand, and by the violence of their impetus drag the driver, that is the reason, down from his seat and put him under the yoke, and each of these passions gets hold of the reins, injustice prevails. For it cannot but be that owing to the badness and want of skill of the driver, the team is swept down precipices and gullies, just as by experience and skill it must needs be brought safely through.[a]

XXIV. Now let us go on to look at our subject in this way. "Pheison" signifies 'alteration of mouth,' and "Evilat" 'in travail': and by these prudence is plainly indicated. For while most people deem the man prudent who can find sophistical arguments, and is clever at expressing his ideas, Moses knows such

οἶδε, φρόνιμον δὲ οὐδαμῶς. ἐν ἀλλοιώσει γὰρ
τοῦ στόματος, τουτέστι τοῦ ἑρμηνευτικοῦ λόγου,
ἡ φρόνησις θεωρεῖται· ὅπερ ἦν μὴ ἐν λόγῳ τὸ
φρονεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἔργῳ θεωρεῖσθαι καὶ σπουδαίαις
75 πράξεσι. κύκλον δὲ περιτίθησι καὶ ὡσανεὶ τεῖχος
ἡ φρόνησις τῇ Εὐιλὰτ τῇ ὠδινούσῃ ἀφροσύνῃ πρὸς
πολιορκίαν αὐτῆς καὶ καθαίρεσιν· ἀφροσύνῃ δὲ
[59] κύριον ὄνομά ἐστιν | ὠδίνουσα, ὅτι ὁ ἄφρων νοῦς
ἀνεφίκτων ἐρῶν ἑκάστοτε ἐν ὠδῖσίν ἐστιν, ὅτε
χρημάτων ἐρᾷ, [ὠδίνει,] ὅτε δόξης, ὅτε ἡδονῆς,
76 ὅτε ἄλλου τινός. ἐν ὠδῖσι δὲ ὢν οὐδέποτε τίκτει·
οὐ γὰρ πέφυκε γόνιμον οὐδὲν τελεσφορεῖν ἡ τοῦ
φαύλου ψυχή· ἃ δ' ἂν καὶ δοκῇ προφέρειν, ἀμ-
βλωθρίδια εὑρίσκεται καὶ ἐκτρώματα, κατεσθίοντα
τὸ ἥμισυ τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτῆς, ἴσα θανάτῳ ψυχικῷ.
παρὸ καὶ δεῖται ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος Ἀαρὼν τοῦ θεο-
φιλοῦς Μωυσέως ἰάσασθαι τὴν τροπὴν τῆς Μαριάμ,
ἵνα μὴ γένηται ἐν ὠδῖνι κακῶν ἡ ψυχή, διὸ καί
φησι· "μὴ γένηται ὡς ἴσον θανάτῳ, ὡς ἔκτρωμα
ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ μήτρας μητρός, καὶ κατεσθίει
τὸ ἥμισυ τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτῆς" (Num. xii. 12).
77 XXV. "Ἐκεῖ" οὖν φησιν "οὗ ἐστι τὸ χρυ-
σίον" (Gen. ii. 11). οὐ λέγει ἐκεῖ εἶναι τὸ
χρυσίον μόνον, ἀλλὰ "ἐκεῖ οὗ ἐστιν." ἡ γὰρ
φρόνησις, ἣν εἴκασε χρυσίῳ, ἀδόλῳ καὶ καθαρᾷ
καὶ πεπυρωμένῃ καὶ δεδοκιμασμένῃ καὶ τιμίᾳ
φύσει, ἐκεῖ μέν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίᾳ, ἐκεῖ
δὲ οὖσα οὐκ ἔστι τῆς σοφίας κτῆμα, ἀλλὰ οὗ
καὶ ἡ σοφία ἐστὶν αὐτή, τοῦ δημιουργοῦ καὶ

[a] *i.e.*, transference of the matter from the sphere of theory to that of practice.

an one to be a lover of words indeed, but a prudent man by no means. For prudence is discerned in "alteration of the mouth,"[a] that is in the word of utterance undergoing a transformation. This comes to the same thing as saying that prudence is not seen in speech but in action and earnest doings. And prudence surrounds with an encircling wall Evilat, or "folly in travail," to besiege and overthrow it. "Travailing" is a name strictly appropriate to folly, because the foolish mind, being enamoured of things out of its reach, is evermore in travail pangs. This is so when it is enamoured of money, when of glory, when of pleasure, when of anything else. But, though in travail, it never brings to the birth, for the soul of the worthless man has not by nature the power to bring forth any offspring. What it seems to produce turn out to be wretched abortions and miscarriages, devouring half of its flesh, an evil tantamount to the death of the soul. Accordingly Aaron, the sacred word, begs of Moses, the beloved of God, to heal the change in Miriam, that her soul may not be in travail with evils; and so he says "Let her not become as one dead, as an abortion coming forth from the womb of a mother; consuming half of her flesh" (Num. xii. 12).

XXV. To resume. "There," it says, "where (or 'whose') the gold is" (Gen. ii. 11). It does not merely say that the gold is there, but "there (is He) 'whose' it is." For prudence, which he has likened to gold, a substance free from alloy and pure and cleansed by fire and tested and precious, is there in the wisdom of God, but, being there, is not a possession of wisdom, but of Him whose is wisdom itself also, even God Who created it and makes it His.

78 κτωμένου θεοῦ. "τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης καλόν" (Gen. ii. 12). οὐκοῦν ἐστιν ἕτερον χρυσίον οὐχὶ καλόν; πάνυ γε· διττὸν γὰρ φρονήσεως γένος, τὸ μὲν καθόλου, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ μέρους· ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐν ἐμοὶ φρόνησις ἐκ μέρους οὖσα οὐ καλή, φθαρέντος γάρ μου συμφθείρεται· ἡ δὲ καθόλου φρόνησις ἡ οἰκοῦσα τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίαν καὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καλή, ἄφθαρτος γὰρ ἐν ἀφθάρτῳ οἴκῳ διαμένει.

79 XXVI. "Καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐστιν ὁ ἄνθραξ καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος" (ib.), οἱ δύο ποιοί, ὅ τε φρόνιμος καὶ ὁ φρονῶν, ὁ μὲν συνιστάμενος κατὰ τὴν φρόνησιν, ὁ δὲ φρονῶν κατὰ τὸ φρονεῖν· τούτων γὰρ ἕνεκα τῶν ποιῶν ἔσπειρεν ὁ θεὸς <ἐν> τῷ γηγενεῖ φρόνησίν τε καὶ ἀρετήν· τί γὰρ ὄφελος ἦν αὐτῆς, εἰ μὴ οἱ δεξόμενοι λογισμοὶ ὑπῆρχον καὶ τοὺς τύπους αὐτῆς ἐναπομαξόμενοι; ὥστ' εἰκότως ἐκεῖ ἐστιν, ὅπου ἡ φρόνησις, ὅ τε φρόνιμος καὶ ὁ
80 φρονῶν, οἱ δύο λίθοι. μήποτε δὲ ὁ Ἰούδας ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ Ἰσσάχαρ· ὁ γὰρ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φρονήσεως ἀσκητὴς ἐξομολογεῖται εὐχαριστικῶς τῷ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀφθόνως δωρησαμένῳ, ὁ δὲ καὶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ σπουδαῖα ἐργάζεται· τοῦ μὲν οὖν ἐξομολογουμένου ὁ Ἰούδας σύμβολον, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ ἵσταται τίκτουσα ἡ Λεία (Gen. xxix. 35), τοῦ δὲ ἐργαζομένου τὰ καλὰ ὁ Ἰσσάχαρ, "ὑπέθηκε γὰρ

[a] In *De Sobr.* 34 ff. this distinction between the adjective or noun and the verb, the one representing *ἕξις* and the other *ἐνέργεια*, is worked out at length. Thus *ζωγράφος* signifies a man who can paint, while *ζωγραφεῖν* means the act of painting. Philo goes on to show that the same distinction applies to the virtues.

[b] See App. p. 478.

" Now the gold of that land is good." " Is there, then, other gold that is not good ? " Yes, indeed, for prudence is of two kinds, the one universal, the other particular. The prudence that is in me, being particular, is not good, for when I perish, it perishes together with me. But the universal prudence, which has for its abode the wisdom of God and His dwelling-place, is good, for, itself imperishable, it abides in an imperishable dwelling-place.

XXVI. " And there is the ruby and the greenstone (*ibid.*), the two concrete embodiments of this virtue, the man who has good sense, and the man who exercises good sense: the determining quality in the one is potential good sense, that in the other good sense exercised. For it was for the sake of these concretes that God sowed in the earth-born man good sense (in particular) and virtue (in general). For what benefit had there been in virtue had there not been ready for it the activities of reason to welcome it and receive its impressions ? " So that, naturally, there where good sense is, there is both the man who has good sense, and the man who exercises good sense, the two precious stones.[a] Judah and Issachar[b] seem to be these. For the man who exercises himself in the practical wisdom of God, makes thankful acknowledgement to Him who bestowed good without stint ; while the representative of the other aspect is furthermore engaged in noble and worthy works. Now of the man who makes confession of thankfulness Judah is the symbol, with whose birth Leah leaves off bearing (Gen. xxix. 35) ; but of him who is engaged in noble deeds Issachar is the figure, " for he submitted his shoulder to labour

τὸν ὦμον εἰς τὸ πονεῖν καὶ ἐγένετο ἀνὴρ γεωργός" (Gen. xlix. 15), ἐφ' οὗ φησι Μωυσῆς σπαρέντος καὶ φυτευθέντος ἐν ψυχῇ "ἔστι μισθός" (Gen. xxx. 18), ὅπερ ἦν οὐκ ἀτελὴς ὁ πόνος ἀλλὰ
[60] στεφανούμενος ὑπὸ θεοῦ καὶ μισθοδοτούμενος.|
81 ὅτι δὲ τούτων ποιεῖται μνήμην, δι' ἑτέρων δηλοῖ, ὅταν ἐπὶ τοῦ ποδήρους φῇ· "καὶ συνυφανεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ λίθον τετράστιχον· στίχος λίθων ἔσται, σάρδιον τοπάζιον σμάραγδος ὁ στίχος ὁ εἷς"— Ῥουβὴν Συμεὼν Λευί—"καὶ ὁ στίχος" φησίν "ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθραξ καὶ σάπφειρος" (Exod. xxviii. 17, 18)· ὁ δὲ σάπφειρος πράσινος λίθος ἐστίν. ἐγγέγλυπται δὲ τῷ μὲν ἄνθρακι ὁ Ἰούδας, τέταρτος γάρ, τῷ δὲ σαπφείρῳ ὁ Ἰσσάχαρ.
82 διὰ τί οὖν οὐχ ὥσπερ λίθον πράσινον εἴρηκεν, οὕτως καὶ λίθον ἀνθράκινον; ὅτι ὁ μὲν Ἰούδας ὁ ἐξομολογητικὸς τρόπος ἄυλός ἐστι καὶ ἀσώματος· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοὔνομα τὸ τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως ἐμφαίνει τὴν ἐκτὸς ἑαυτοῦ ὁμολογίαν· ὅταν γὰρ ἐκβῇ ὁ νοῦς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀνενέγκῃ θεῷ, ὥσπερ ὁ γέλως Ἰσαάκ, τηνικαῦτα ὁμολογίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν ὄντα ποιεῖται· ἕως δὲ ἑαυτὸν ὑποτίθεται ὡς αἴτιόν τινος, μακρὰν ἀφέστηκε τοῦ παραχωρεῖν θεῷ καὶ ὁμολογεῖν αὐτῷ· καὶ αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι νοητέον ὅτι ἔργον ἐστὶν οὐχὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ τοῦ φαίνοντος αὐτῇ θεοῦ τὸ εὐχάριστον. ἄυλος μὲν δὴ ὁ ἐξομολογούμενος

[a] "Judah" is derived from a verb meaning "to thank": "Issachar" from a noun meaning "reward." That thankful acknowledgement of God's goodness is the crowning virtue is typified by Leah ceasing to bear when she had given birth to Judah (Heinemann).

and became a tiller of the soil" (Gen. xlix. 15). In his case, as Moses says, when he has been sown and planted in the soul "there is a reward" (Gen. xxx. 18),[a] that is to say his labour is not in vain, but crowned by God and awarded a recompense. That he is referring to these patriarchs he shows elsewhere when he says of the high-priestly garment, "And thou shalt weave together in it precious stones in fourfold order: there shall be a row of precious stones, sardius, topaz, smaragdus, making the one row"—Reuben, Simeon, Levi—"and the second row" it says "ruby and sapphire" (Exod. xxviii. 17 f.): but the sapphire is a green stone. Now Judah is engraved in the ruby, for he is fourth in order, and Issachar on the sapphire. Why then, while saying "a green stone," does he not also say, "a ruby stone"?[b] Because Judah, the disposition prone to make confession of praise, is exempt from body and matter. For indeed the very word denoting confession (of praise) vividly portrays the acknowledgement that takes a man out of himself. For whenever the mind goes out from itself and offers itself up to God, as Isaac or "laughter," does, then does it make confession of acknowledgement towards the Existent One. But so long as the mind supposes itself to be the author of anything, it is far away from making room for God and from confessing or making acknowledgement to Him. For we must take note that the very confession of praise itself is the work not of the soul but of God who gives it thankfulness.[c] Incorporeal assuredly is Judah with his confession of praise.

[b] *i.e.*, in Gen. ii. 12.
[c] φαίνειν, "cause to appear" = "give." *Cf. Odyssey*, iv. 12, xv. 26.

83 Ἰούδας. τῷ δὲ ἐκ πόνου προεληλυθότι Ἰσσάχαρ δεῖ καὶ ὕλης σωματικῆς· ἐπεὶ πῶς ἀναγνώσεται χωρὶς ὀμμάτων ὁ ἀσκητής; πῶς δὲ ἀκούσεται τῶν προτρεπτικῶν λόγων χωρὶς ἀκοῆς; πῶς δὲ σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν ἐφίξεται δίχα γαστρὸς καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν τερατουργίας; διὰ τοῦτο λίθῳ ἀπ-
84 εικάσθη. καὶ τὰ χρώματα μέντοι διάφορα· τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐξομολογητικῷ οἰκεία χροιὰ ἡ τοῦ ἄνθρακος, πεπύρωται γὰρ ἐν εὐχαριστίᾳ θεοῦ καὶ μεθύει τὴν νήφουσαν μέθην, τῷ δὲ ἔτι πονοῦντι ἡ τοῦ πρασίνου λίθου, ὠχροὶ γὰρ οἱ ἐν ἀσκήσει διά τε τὸν τρύχοντα πόνον καὶ διὰ δέος τοῦ μὴ τυχεῖν ἂν ἴσως τοῦ κατ' εὐχὴν τέλους.

85 XXVII. Ἄξιον δὲ διαπορῆσαι, διὰ τί οἱ μὲν δύο ποταμοὶ ὁ Φεισὼν καὶ ὁ Γηὼν κυκλοῦσι χώρας, ὁ μὲν τὴν Εὐιλάτ, ὁ δὲ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν οὐδέτερος, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Τίγρις κατέναντι Ἀσσυρίων λέγεται εἶναι, ὁ δὲ Εὐφράτης οὐδενός· καίτοι γε πρὸς τὸ ἀληθὲς ὁ Εὐφράτης καὶ περιρρεῖ τινας χώρας καὶ ἀντικρὺς ἔχει πολλάς. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι περὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ
86 περὶ ἤθους ἐπανορθώσεως. λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι ἡ μὲν φρόνησις καὶ ἡ ἀνδρεία δύνανται κύκλον καὶ τεῖχος βαλέσθαι κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων κακιῶν, ἀφροσύνης τε καὶ δειλίας, καὶ ἑλεῖν αὐτάς· ἀσθενεῖς γὰρ καὶ εὐάλωτοι ἀμφότεραι, καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἄφρων εὔληπτος τῷ φρονίμῳ καὶ ὁ δειλὸς ὑποπέπτωκε τῷ ἀνδρείῳ·
[61] ἡ δὲ σωφροσύνη ἀδυνατεῖ κυκλώσασθαι | τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ ἡδονήν· χαλεπαὶ γὰρ ἀντίπαλοι καὶ δυσκαθαίρετοι. οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἐγκρατέστατοι

But for Issachar who has advanced through labour there is need accordingly of a material body. For how shall the keen endeavourer read without eyes? How shall he hear the words of encouragement without ears? How shall he eat food and drink without a stomach and its wonderful processes? That is why he is likened to a stone. Yes, and the colours differ. To him who makes confession of praise the hue of the ruby belongs, for he is permeated by fire in giving thanks to God, and is drunk with a sober drunkenness. But to him who is still labouring the hue of the green stone is proper, for men in exercise and training are pale, both by reason of the wearing labour and by reason of the fear that they may perchance not obtain the result that accords with their prayer.

XXVII. It is worth inquiring why, while the two rivers Pheison and Geon encompass countries, the one Evilat, the other Ethiopia, neither of the others does so; but of the Tigris it is said that it is over against the Assyrians, and the Euphrates is not said to be over against anything; and yet as a matter of fact the Euphrates both flows round many countries and has many facing it. But the subject of the passage is not the river, but amendment of character. We must observe, then, that prudence and courage are able to construct an enclosing wall against the opposite vices, folly and cowardice, and capture them; for they are both of them weak and easy to take, for the foolish man falls an easy victim to the prudent man, and the coward lies at the mercy of the brave man; self-mastery on the contrary is powerless to encircle desire and pleasure; for they are hard to wrestle with and difficult to overthrow. Mark you not that

ἀνάγκῃ τοῦ θνητοῦ παραγίνονται ἐπὶ σιτία καὶ ποτά, ἐξ ὧν αἱ γαστρὸς ἡδοναὶ συνεστᾶσιν; ἀγαπητὸν οὖν ἐστιν ἀντιβῆναι καὶ μαχέσασθαι τῷ
87 γένει τῆς ἐπιθυμίας. διὸ καὶ κατέναντι Ἀσσυρίων ἐστὶν ὁ Τίγρις ποταμός, ἡ σωφροσύνη τῆς ἡδονῆς. ἡ δέ γε δικαιοσύνη, καθ' ἣν ὁ Εὐφράτης ποταμὸς συνίσταται, οὔτε πολιορκεῖ καὶ περιτειχίζει τινὰ οὔτε ἀντιστατεῖ· διὰ τί; ὅτι ἀπονεμητικὴ τῶν κατ' ἀξίαν ἐστὶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ τέτακται οὔτε κατὰ τὸν κατήγορον οὔτε κατὰ τὸν ἀπολογούμενον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν δικαστήν. ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ δικαστὴς οὔτε νικῆσαί τινας προῄρηται οὔτε πολεμῆσαί τισι καὶ ἐναντιωθῆναι, γνώμην δὲ ἀποφηνάμενος βραβεύει τὸ δίκαιον, οὕτως ἡ δικαιοσύνη οὐδενὸς οὖσα ἀντίδικος ἀπονέμει τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἑκάστῳ πράγματι.

88 XXVIII. "Καὶ ἔλαβε κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἐποίησε καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ φυλάσσειν" (Gen. ii. 15). τοῦ πλασθέντος διαφέρει ὃν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ἄνθρωπον, ὡς εἶπον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πλασθεὶς νοῦς ἐστι γεωδέστερος, ὁ δὲ ποιηθεὶς ἀυλότερος, φθαρτῆς ὕλης ἀμέτοχος, καθαρωτέρας καὶ εἰλικρινε-
89 στέρας τετυχηκὼς συστάσεως. τοῦτον οὖν τὸν καθαρὸν νοῦν λαμβάνει ὁ θεός, οὐκ ἐῶν ἐκτὸς ἑαυτοῦ βαίνειν, καὶ λαβὼν τίθησιν ἐν ταῖς ἐρριζωμέναις καὶ βλασταινούσαις ἀρεταῖς, ἵνα ἐργάζηται αὐτὰς καὶ φυλάττῃ. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀσκηταὶ γενόμενοι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ τέλους μετέβαλον· ᾧ δὲ παρέχει ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστήμην βεβαίαν, τούτῳ δίδωσιν ἀμφότερα, ἐργάζεσθαί τε τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ

[a] The Stoic definition of justice, *S.V.F.* iii. 262.

even the most self-controlled of men under compulsion of the mortal element in them resort to food and drink, out of which the pleasures of the appetite develop? So we must be content to face and fight lust as a principle. That is why the river Tigris is over against the Assyrians, self-mastery over against pleasure. Justice, however, the characteristic of the river Euphrates, neither besieges and encircles anyone with a palisade, nor withstands any in conflict. Why? Because it is the function of justice to assign to each what he deserves,[a] and justice sustains the part neither of prosecutor nor of defendant but of judge. Even as the judge, therefore, makes it his business neither to conquer any persons, nor to wage war on any and oppose them, but pronounces a judgement and awards what is just, so too justice, being nobody's opponent, accords to each matter what it merits.

XXVIII. "And the Lord God took the man whom He had made, and placed him in the garden to till and to guard it" (Gen. ii. 15). "The man whom God made" differs, as I have said before, from the one that "was moulded": for the one that was moulded is the more earthly mind, the one that was made the less material, having no part in perishable matter, endowed with a constitution of a purer and clearer kind. This pure mind, then, God takes, not suffering it to go outside of Himself, and, having taken it, sets it among the virtues that have roots and put forth shoots, that he may till them and guard them. For many, after beginning to practise virtue, have changed at the last: but on the man to whom God affords secure knowledge, He bestows both advantages, both that of tilling the virtues, and also

μηδέποτε αὐτῶν ἀφίστασθαι, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ ταμιεύειν καὶ φυλάττειν ἑκάστην. τὸ μὲν οὖν "ἐργάζεσθαι" ἀντὶ τοῦ πράττειν, τὸ δὲ "φυλάττειν" ἀντὶ τοῦ μνημονεύειν.

90 XXIX. "Καὶ ἐνετείλατο κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀδὰμ λέγων· ἀπὸ παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ βρώσει φάγῃ, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρὸν οὐ φάγεσθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· ᾗ δ' ἂν ἡμέρᾳ φάγητε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε" (Gen. ii. 16, 17). ποίῳ Ἀδὰμ ἐντέλλεται καὶ τίς ἐστιν οὗτος, διαπορητέον· οὐ γὰρ μέμνηται πρότερον αὐτοῦ, νυνὶ δὲ πρῶτον ὠνόμακεν αὐτόν. μήποτ' οὖν βούλεταί σοι τοῦ πλαστοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραστῆσαι τοὔνομα. κάλει |
[62] δή, φησίν, αὐτὸν γῆν· τοῦτο γὰρ Ἀδὰμ ἑρμηνεύεται, ὥστε ὅταν ἀκούῃς Ἀδάμ, γήινον καὶ φθαρτὸν νοῦν εἶναι νόμιζε· ὁ γὰρ κατ' εἰκόνα οὐ
91 γήινος, ἀλλ' οὐράνιος. ζητητέον δέ, διὰ τί πᾶσιν ἐπιτιθεὶς τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰ ὀνόματα οὐκ ἐπιτέθεικεν ἑαυτῷ. τί οὖν λεκτέον; ὁ νοῦς ὁ ἐν ἑκάστῳ ἡμῶν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα δύναται καταλαβεῖν, ἑαυτὸν δὲ γνωρίσαι ἀδυνάτως ἔχει· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁρᾷ, ἑαυτὸν δὲ οὐχ ὁρᾷ, οὕτως καὶ ὁ νοῦς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα νοεῖ, ἑαυτὸν δὲ οὐ καταλαμβάνει· εἰπάτω γάρ, τίς τέ ἐστι καὶ ποταπός, πνεῦμα ἢ αἷμα ἢ πῦρ ἢ ἀὴρ ἢ ἕτερόν τι [σῶμα], ἢ τοσοῦτόν γε ὅτι σῶμά ἐστιν ἢ πάλιν ἀσώματον. εἶτ' οὐκ εὐήθεις οἱ περὶ θεοῦ σκεπτόμενοι οὐσίας; οἳ γὰρ τῆς ἰδίας ψυχῆς τὴν οὐσίαν οὐκ ἴσασι, πῶς ἂν περὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων ψυχῆς ἀκριβώσαιεν; ἡ

[a] "Feedingly" is a rough representation of the Hebrew idiom. E.V. "freely."

that of never desisting from them, but of evermore husbanding and guarding each one of them. So "tilling" represents practising, while "guarding" represents remembering.

XXIX. "And the Lord God commanded Adam saying: From every tree that is in the garden thou shalt feedingly [a] eat, but of the tree of knowing good and evil ye shall not eat of it: and in the day that ye eat of it ye shall surely die" (Gen. ii. 16, 17). We must raise the question *what* Adam He commands and who this is; for the writer has not mentioned him before, but has named him now for the first time. Perchance, then, he means to give us the name of the man that was moulded. "Call him earth" he says, for that is the meaning of "Adam," so that when you hear the word "Adam," you must make up your mind that it is the earthly and perishable mind; for the mind that was made after the image is not earthly but heavenly. And we must inquire why when assigning their names to all the other creatures Adam did not assign one to himself. What, then, are we to say? The mind that is in each one of us can apprehend other objects, but is incapable of knowing itself. For just as the eye sees other objects but does not see itself, so the mind too perceives other objects, but does not apprehend itself. Can it say what it is and of what kind, breath or blood or fire or air or anything else? Can it even say that it is a body or else that it is incorporeal? Are not they simpletons, then, who inquire about God's substance? For how should those, who know not the substance of their own soul, have accurate ideas about the soul of the universe? For

γὰρ τῶν ὅλων ψυχὴ ὁ θεός ἐστι κατὰ ἔννοιαν.
92 XXX. εἰκότως οὖν ὁ Ἀδάμ, τουτέστιν ὁ νοῦς,
τὰ ἄλλα ὀνομάζων καὶ καταλαμβάνων, ἑαυτῷ
ὄνομα οὐκ ἐπιτίθησιν, ὅτι ἑαυτὸν ἀγνοεῖ καὶ τὴν
ἰδίαν φύσιν. ἐντέλλεται δὲ τούτῳ καὶ οὐχὶ τῷ
κατ᾽ εἰκόνα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἰδέαν γεγονότι· ἐκεῖνος
μὲν γὰρ καὶ δίχα προτροπῆς ἔχει τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτο-
μαθῶς, οὗτος δ᾽ ἄνευ διδασκαλίας οὐκ ἂν φρο-
93 νήσεως ἐπιλάχοι. διαφέρει δὲ τρία ταῦτα· πρόσ-
ταξις, ἀπαγόρευσις, ἐντολὴ καὶ παραίνεσις· ἡ
μὲν γὰρ ἀπαγόρευσις περὶ ἁμαρτημάτων γίνεται
καὶ πρὸς φαῦλον, ἡ δὲ πρόσταξις <περὶ> κατορθω-
μάτων, ἡ δὲ παραίνεσις πρὸς τὸν μέσον, τὸν μήτε
φαῦλον μήτε σπουδαῖον· οὔτε γὰρ ἁμαρτάνει, ὡς
ἀπαγορεύειν ἄν τινα αὐτῷ, οὔτε κατορθοῖ κατὰ
τὴν τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου πρόσταξιν, ἀλλὰ χρείαν ἔχει
παραινέσεως τῆς ἀπέχειν[1] μὲν τῶν φαύλων διδα-
σκούσης, προτρεπούσης δὲ ἐφίεσθαι τῶν ἀστείων.
94 τῷ μὲν οὖν τελείῳ τῷ κατ᾽ εἰκόνα προστάττειν ἢ
ἀπαγορεύειν ἢ παραινεῖν οὐχὶ δεῖ, οὐδενὸς γὰρ
τούτων ὁ τέλειος δεῖται, τῷ δὲ φαύλῳ προσ-
τάξεως καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεως χρεία, τῷ δὲ νηπίῳ
παραινέσεως καὶ διδασκαλίας, ὥσπερ τῷ τελείῳ
γραμματικῷ ἢ μουσικῷ οὐδενὸς δεῖ παραγγέλ-
ματος τῶν εἰς τὰς τέχνας, τῷ δὲ σφαλλομένῳ περὶ
τὰ θεωρήματα ὡσανεί τινων νόμων προστάξεις
καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεις ἐχόντων, τῷ δὲ ἄρτι μανθάνοντι

[1] ἀπέχειν has three mss. and, apparently, the Armenian version on its side, as against ἀνέχειν = "cease from," which would fit the *bad* man, but not the *neutral* man. In Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, ch. xxviii., to which L. and S. (1925) refer, ἀνέχων is probably transitive. For ἀπέχειν see especially Xen. *Mem.* i. 2. 62, for ἀνέχειν *De Opif.* 128.

we may conceive of God as the soul of the universe.[a] XXX. Quite naturally, therefore, Adam, that is the Mind, though he names and apprehends other things, gives no name to himself, since he is ignorant of himself and his own nature. Now it is to this being, and not to the being created after His image and after the original idea, that God gives the command. For the latter, even without urging, possesses virtue instinctively; but the former, independently of instruction, could have no part in wisdom. There is a difference between these three—injunction, prohibition, command accompanied by exhortation. For prohibition deals with wrongdoings and is addressed to the bad man, injunction concerns duties rightly done, and exhortation is addressed to the neutral man, the man who is neither bad nor good: for he is neither sinning, to lead anyone to forbid him, nor is he so doing right as right reason enjoins, but has need of exhortation, which teaches him to refrain from evil things, and incites him to aim at things noble. There is no need, then, to give injunctions or prohibitions or exhortations to the perfect man formed after the (Divine) image, for none of these does the perfect man require. The bad man has need of injunction and prohibition, and the child of exhortation and teaching. Just so the perfect master of music or letters requires none of the directions that apply to those arts, whereas the man who stumbles over the subjects of his study does require what we may call laws or rules with their injunctions and prohibitions, while one who is now beginning to learn requires teaching.

[a] See App. p. 478.

[63] διδασκαλίας. εἰκότως οὖν τῷ γηΐνῳ νῷ
95 μήτε φαύλῳ ὄντι μήτε σπουδαίῳ ἀλλὰ μέσῳ τὰ νῦν ἐντέλλεται καὶ παραινεῖ. ἡ δὲ παραίνεσις γίνεται δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν κλήσεων καὶ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, "ἐνετείλατο" γὰρ "κύριος ὁ θεός," ἵνα, εἰ μὲν πείθοιτο ταῖς παραινέσεσιν, ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εὐεργεσιῶν ἀξιωθείη, εἰ δὲ ἀφηνιάζοι, ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ὡς δεσπότου καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντος
96 σκορακίζοιτο. διόπερ καὶ ὅτε ἐκβάλλεται τοῦ παραδείσου, τὰς αὐτὰς κλήσεις παρείληφε, λέγει γάρ· "καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν αὐτὸν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς, ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν, ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθη" (Gen. iii. 23), ἵνα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὡς δεσπότης ὁ κύριος καὶ ὡς εὐεργέτης ὁ θεὸς ἐνετέλλετο, πάλιν ὡς ἀμφότερα ὢν τὸν παρακούσαντα τιμωρῆται· δι' ὧν γὰρ προὔτρεπε δυνάμεων, διὰ τούτων τὸν ἀπειθοῦντα ἀποπέμπεται.

97 XXXI. Ἃ δὲ παραινεῖ, ταῦτά ἐστιν· "ἀπὸ παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ βρώσει φάγῃ" (Gen. ii. 16). προτρέπει τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν μὴ ἀφ' ἑνὸς ξύλου μηδ' ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἀρετῆς ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν ὠφελεῖσθαι· τὸ γὰρ φαγεῖν σύμβολόν ἐστι τροφῆς ψυχικῆς· τρέφεται δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ ἀναλήψει τῶν καλῶν καὶ
98 πράξει τῶν κατορθωμάτων. μὴ μόνον δέ φησι "φάγῃ," ἀλλὰ καὶ "βρώσει," τουτέστι καταλέσας καὶ ἐπιλεάνας μὴ ἰδιώτου ἀλλ' ἀθλητοῦ τρόπον τὴν τροφήν, ἵνα ἰσχὺν καὶ δύναμιν περι-

Quite naturally, then, does God give the commandments and exhortations before us to the earthly man who is neither bad nor good but midway between these. To enforce the exhortation, both Divine titles are employed, both " Lord " and " God," for it says " God the Lord commanded him." This is in order that, should he obey the exhortations, he may be deemed worthy by God of His benefactions ; but that, should he rebel, he may be driven from the presence of the Lord who has a Master's authority over him. For this reason again, when he is being cast out of the garden, the sacred writer has introduced the same titles, for he says, " And the Lord God sent him forth out of the garden of delight, to till the ground, out of which he was taken " (Gen. iii. 23). This is to show that, since " the Lord " as Master and " God " as Benefactor had issued the commands, so in both capacities does He inflict punishment on him who had disobeyed them. For he dismisses the disobedient by the exercise of the very powers which He had exercised in urging him to obedience.

XXXI. The charge which he gives is this : " From every tree that is in the garden thou shalt eat feedingly thereon " (Gen. ii. 16). He moves the soul of the man to get benefit, not from a single tree or from a single virtue but from all the virtues : for eating is a figure of soul-nourishment : and the soul is nourished by the acquisition of things noble, and the practice of things rightful. And He says not merely " shalt eat," but also " feedingly," that is, chewing and masticating the nourishment, not like an ordinary person, but like an athlete, that you may

ποιήσῃ· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἀθληταῖς οἱ ἀλεῖπται παραγγέλλουσι μὴ κάπτειν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ σχολὴν λεαίνειν, ἵνα πρὸς ἰσχὺν ἐπιδιδῶσιν· ἑτέρως γὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ ἀθλητὴς τρεφόμεθα, ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἕνεκα τοῦ ζῆν μόνον, ὁ δὲ ἀθλητὴς καὶ ἕνεκα τοῦ πιαίνεσθαι καὶ ῥώννυσθαι, παρὸ καὶ ἕν τι τῶν ἀσκητικῶν ἐστι τὸ λεαίνεσθαι τροφήν. τὸ "βρώσει φαγεῖν" ἐστι
99 τοιοῦτον. ἔτι δὲ ἀκριβέστερον διατυπώσωμεν αὐτό. τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς γονεῖς ἐδώδιμον καὶ τρόφιμόν ἐστιν· ἀλλ' ἑτέρως οἱ ἀγαθοὶ καὶ οἱ φαῦλοι τιμῶσιν, οἱ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὸ ἔθος, οἵτινες οὐ βρώσει ἐσθίουσιν, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐσθίουσι· πότε οὖν καὶ βρώσει; ὅταν ἀναπτύξαντες καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐρευνήσαντες κρίνωσιν ἑκουσίως, ὅτι καλὸν τοῦτ' ἐστίν· αἱ δὲ αἰτίαι τοιαῦται· ἐγέννησαν ἡμᾶς, ἔθρεψαν, ἐπαίδευσαν, πάντων αἴτιοι γεγόνασιν ἀγαθῶν. πάλιν ἐδώδιμον <τὸ> τὸν ὄντα τιμᾶσθαι· τότε δὲ "βρώσει," ὅταν καὶ μετὰ τῆς τοῦ κεφαλαίου ἀναπτύξεως καὶ τῆς τῶν αἰτιῶν ἀποδόσεως.

100 XXXII. "Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρὸν οὐ φάγεσθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ" (Gen. ii. 17). οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τὸ
[64] ξύλον | τοῦτο· εἰ γὰρ ἀπὸ παντὸς ἐσθίειν παραγγέλλει τῶν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου μὴ φαγεῖν, δῆλον ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ· καὶ φυσικῶς· ἔστι γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, οὐσίᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἔστι δυνάμει. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ κηρῷ δυνάμει μέν εἰσι πᾶσαι αἱ σφραγῖδες, ἐντελεχείᾳ δὲ μόνη ἡ

gain strength and power: for, as we know, the trainers charge the athletes not to bolt their food, but to masticate it slowly, in order that they may grow stronger. For the athlete and I take nourishment with different objects; I, just to sustain life, the athlete, for the further purpose of growing brawny and strong; and so mastication of food is a special point in training. Such is the meaning of "thou shalt eat feedingly thereon." Let us try to form a yet more precise conception of it. To honour our parents is something eatable and nutritious: but good and bad sons honour them differently, the latter in compliance with custom, and these do not "eat feedingly," but simply eat. When, then, eat they feedingly too? When, after exploring the precept and searching for the grounds on which it rests, they freely determine that such conduct is noble. The grounds for it are such as these: they gave us birth, nurtured us, educated us, have been authors of all good things to us. Honour again shown to the Existent One is something eatable; it is shown "feedingly," when the honour we show is coupled with close search into the precept, and with a due appreciation of its motives.[a]

XXXII. "But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil ye shall not eat" (Gen. ii. 17). Therefore this tree is not in the garden: for if He bids them to eat of every tree in the garden, but not to eat of this one, it is evident that it is not in the garden: and this is quite naturally so: for actually, as I have said, it is there, and virtually it is not. For as all the impressions are virtually in the wax, but actually only the one that has been made, so in the

[a] Or "rendering of our reasons."

τετυπωμένη, οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κηροειδεῖ ὑπαρχούσῃ πάντες οἱ τύποι περιέχονται δυνάμει, οὐκ ἀποτελέσματι, κρατεῖ δὲ ὁ εἷς χαραχθεὶς ἐν αὐτῇ, ἕως μὴ ἀπαλήλιπται ὑφ' ἑτέρου ἐναργέστερον καὶ ἐκδήλως μᾶλλον ἐπιχαράξαντος.

101 ἑξῆς κἀκεῖνο διαπορητέον· ὅτε μὲν παραινεῖ ἀπὸ παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ παραδείσου ἐσθίειν, ἕνα προτρέπει, ὅτε δὲ ἀπαγορεύει χρῆσθαι τῷ πονηροῦ καὶ καλοῦ αἰτίῳ, πλείοσι διαλέγεται· ἐκεῖ μὲν γάρ φησιν "ἀπὸ παντὸς φάγῃ," ἐνταῦθα δὲ "οὐ φάγεσθε" καὶ "ᾗ δ' ἂν ἡμέρᾳ φάγητε," οὐχὶ

102 φάγῃς, καὶ "ἀποθανεῖσθε," οὐχὶ ἀποθανῇ. λεκτέον οὖν τάδε, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν σπάνιόν ἐστι τἀγαθόν, τὸ δὲ κακὸν πολύχουν· διὰ τοῦτο σοφὸν μὲν εὑρεῖν ἕνα μόνον ἔργον, φαύλων δὲ πλῆθος ἀναρίθμητον· εἰκότως οὖν ἑνὶ παραγγέλλει ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἐντρέφεσθαι, πολλοῖς δὲ περὶ τοῦ πανουρ-

103 γίας ἀπέχεσθαι, ταύτῃ γὰρ μυρίοι χρῶνται. δεύτερον <δέ>, εἰς ἀρετῆς ἀνάληψίν τε καὶ χρῆσιν ἑνὸς μόνου δεῖ τοῦ λογισμοῦ· τὸ δὲ σῶμα οὐχ οἷον οὐ συνεργεῖ πρὸς τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ κωλυσιεργεῖ· σχεδὸν γὰρ σοφίας ἔργον τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἀλλοτριοῦσθαι πρὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτοῦ·[a] εἰς δὲ ἀπόλαυσιν κακίας οὐ μόνον δεῖ πως ἔχειν τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν καὶ τὸν λόγον

104 καὶ τὸ σῶμα· ὁ γὰρ φαῦλος δεῖται τούτων ἁπάντων πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν τῆς ἰδίας κακίας· ἐπεὶ πῶς

[a] Plato, *Phaedo* 65 A.

soul, whose nature is waxlike, all the types are contained virtually, but not in actual execution, and the single one engraved in it is in possession, so long as it has not been obliterated by another seal which has made over it a clearer and bolder impression. Next there is this further question to be raised. When He is giving the charge to eat of every tree of the garden, He addresses the command to a single person, but when He issues the prohibition against making any use of that which causes evil and good, He speaks to more than one: for in the former case He says, "Thou shalt eat from every tree"; but in the latter, "ye shall not eat, and in the day that ye eat" not "that thou eatest," and "ye shall die" not "thou shalt die." We must accordingly remark in the first place that the good is scarce, the evil abundant. Hence it is hard to find a single wise man, while of inferior men there is a countless multitude. Quite fitly, therefore, does He bid a single man to find nourishment in the virtues, but many to abstain from evil-doing, for myriads practise this. In the second place, for the acquisition and practice of virtue a single thing only, namely our understanding, is requisite: but the body not only fails to co-operate to this end, but is an actual hindrance; for we may almost make it an axiom that the business of wisdom is to become estranged from the body and its cravings [a]: but for the enjoyment of evil it is necessary not only that the mind be in a certain condition, but also the power of perception and of speech, in fact the body; for all these the inferior man requires for the full satisfaction of his particular form of wickedness. For how shall he divulge sacred and hidden truths

ἐκλαλήσει μυστήρια φωνητήριον οὐκ ἔχων ὄργανον;
πῶς δὲ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς χρήσεται γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν
αἰσθητηρίων στερόμενος; δεόντως οὖν ἑνὶ μὲν
τῷ λογισμῷ διαλέγεται περὶ κτήσεως ἀρετῆς,
μόνου γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ χρεία πρὸς τὴν
ἀνάληψιν αὐτῆς, περὶ δὲ κακίας πλείοσι, ψυχῇ,
λόγῳ, αἰσθήσεσι, σώματι, διὰ πάντων γὰρ τούτων
ἐμφαίνεται.
105 XXXIII. Λέγει γε μήν· "ᾗ ἂν ἡμέρᾳ φάγητε
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε" (Gen. ii. 17).
καὶ φαγόντες οὐχ οἷον οὐκ ἀποθνήσκουσιν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ παιδοποιοῦνται καὶ ἑτέροις τοῦ ζῆν αἴτιοι
καθίστανται. τί οὖν λεκτέον; ὅτι διττός ἐστι
[65] θάνατος, ὁ μὲν ἀνθρώπου, | ὁ δὲ ψυχῆς ἴδιος· ὁ
μὲν οὖν ἀνθρώπου χωρισμός ἐστι ψυχῆς ἀπὸ
σώματος, ὁ δὲ ψυχῆς θάνατος ἀρετῆς μὲν φθορά
106 ἐστι, κακίας δὲ ἀνάληψις. παρὸ καί φησιν οὐκ
ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸ μόνον ἀλλὰ "θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖν,"
δηλῶν οὐ τὸν κοινὸν ἀλλὰ τὸν ἴδιον καὶ κατ'
ἐξοχὴν θάνατον, ὅς ἐστι ψυχῆς ἐντυμβευομένης
πάθεσι καὶ κακίαις ἁπάσαις. καὶ σχεδὸν οὗτος ὁ
θάνατος μάχεται ἐκείνῳ· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ διάκρισίς
ἐστι τῶν συγκριθέντων σώματός τε καὶ ψυχῆς,
οὗτος δὲ τοὐναντίον σύνοδος ἀμφοῖν, κρατοῦντος
μὲν τοῦ χείρονος σώματος, κρατουμένου δὲ τοῦ
107 κρείττονος ψυχῆς. ὅπου δ' ἂν λέγῃ "θανάτῳ
ἀποθανεῖν," παρατήρει ὅτι θάνατον τὸν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ
παραλαμβάνει, οὐ τὸν φύσει γινόμενον· φύσει μὲν

[a] Plato, *Phaedo* 64 c.
[b] Or "of elements which had been in combination."

unless he have an organ of speech? And how is he to indulge in pleasures, if he be bereft of a stomach and the organs of taste? So it is in accordance with the necessities of the case that He addresses the understanding alone about gaining virtue; for, as I said, it alone is needed for its acquisition; whereas in the pursuit of evil several faculties are needed, soul, speech, senses, body, for wickedness employs all these in displaying itself.

XXXIII. And further he says, "In the day that ye eat thereof, ye shall die the death" (Gen. ii. 17). And yet after they have eaten, not merely do they *not* die, but they beget children and become authors of life to others. What, then, is to be said to this? That death is of two kinds, one that of the man in general, the other that of the soul in particular. The death of the man is the separation of the soul from the body,[a] but the death of the soul is the decay of virtue and the bringing in of wickedness. It is for this reason that God says not only "die" but "die the death," indicating not the death common to us all, but that special death properly so called, which is that of the soul becoming entombed in passions and wickedness of all kinds. And this death is practically the antithesis of the death which awaits us all. The latter is a separation of combatants that had been pitted against one another,[b] body and soul, to wit. The former, on the other hand, is a meeting of the two in conflict. And in this conflict the worse, the body, overcomes, and the better, the soul, is overcome. But observe that wherever Moses speaks of "dying the death," he means the penalty-death, not that which takes place in the course of nature. That one is in the course

οὖν ἐστι, καθ᾽ ὃν χωρίζεται ψυχὴ ἀπὸ σώματος, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ συνίσταται, ὅταν ἡ ψυχὴ τὸν
108 ἀρετῆς βίον θνήσκῃ, τὸν δὲ κακίας ζῇ μόνον. εὖ καὶ ὁ Ἡράκλειτος κατὰ τοῦτο Μωυσέως ἀκολουθήσας τῷ δόγματι, φησὶ γάρ· "Ζῶμεν τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον, τεθνήκαμεν δὲ τὸν ἐκείνων βίον," ὡς νῦν μέν, ὅτε ζῶμεν, τεθνηκυίας τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐν σήματι τῷ σώματι ἐντετυμβευμένης, εἰ δὲ ἀποθάνοιμεν, τῆς ψυχῆς ζώσης τὸν ἴδιον βίον καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένης κακοῦ καὶ νεκροῦ συνδέτου τοῦ σώματος.

of nature in which soul is parted from body; but the penalty-death takes place when the soul dies to the life of virtue, and is alive only to that of wickedness. That is an excellent saying of Heracleitus, who on this point followed Moses' teaching, "We live," he says, "their death, and are dead to their life." He means that now, when we are living, the soul is dead and has been entombed in the body as in a sepulchre; whereas, should we die, the soul lives forthwith its own proper life, and is released from the body, the baneful corpse to which it was tied.[a]

[a] For σῆμα σῶμα *cf.* Plato, *Gorgias* 493 A, *Cratylus* 400 B.

ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION TO BOOK II

This treatise deals with Genesis ii. 18 iii. 1. Let us mark its *mode* of dealing with the Sacred Text in salient instances.

The story of the creation of Eve, we are told, is not meant to be taken literally. It is a "Myth," showing forth the origin of Sense-perception, which becomes active when Mind is asleep (Gen. ii. 21). The bringing of Woman to Man is the introduction of Sense-perception to Mind, which hails it as its own (ii. 22 f.). (19 ff., 40 ff.)

That Adam and Eve were both naked (ii. 25) means that they were without either good or evil; for nakedness of soul can show itself as (*a*) freedom from passions; (*b*) loss of virtue; (*c*) neutrality. Adam and Eve were inactive both in mind and sense-perception, and were "unashamed," *i.e.* without either the shamelessness of the worthless man, or the shamefastness of the man of worth. (53 ff.)

The entry of the Serpent (Gen. iii. 1) is due to the need of some means of uniting Mind and Sense-perception for their joint apprehension of objects, and of eliciting their activities. (71 ff.)

Let us notice next the extent to which Philo dwells on *single words*.

The word "alone" in Gen. ii. 18 draws out the reminder that God only is alone, self-contained,

needing naught, not composite ; while the heavenly Man ever *yearns* to be with God, and the earthy man always *is* with his passions. (1-4.)

The word " help " or " helper " suggests to him the created, later-born helpers given to the earthy man. These " wild beasts " are the senses and passions, such as desire, fear, anger, given to Mind (Gen. ii. 19)—our helpers, but often our foes. (5 ff.)

The word " moreover " (in the Greek version of Gen. ii. 19) is taken by Philo to mean a *second* creation of senses and passions ; and this further creation is accounted for by the observation that evils are numerous, and by the suggestion that Gen. i. 24 refers to *genera*, and Gen. ii. 19 to *species*, a suggestion in support of which evidence is adduced. (11 f.)

In the account of the giving of names to the creatures, the words " what he would call " are taken as meaning " *why* he would *invite*." (14 f.)

In the story of the creation of Eve, " ribs " or " sides " are understood as " strength " ; " took " as meaning " entered on the roll," " registered," *i.e.* brought into active service (this on the strength of Numb. xxxi. 26, " *take* the sum ") ; " filled up flesh in its stead " means " fulfilled " sense-perception, and " filled " the body " with it " ; and woman is " builded " (Gen. ii. 22, R.V. margin) because she is moved to activity from without. (19 f., 35, 38 f.)

A striking example of single words pressed into the service of allegory is Adam's welcome to Eve, " This is now bone of my bones." " *This* " is Sense-perception no longer passive but become active ; and " *now* " is indicative of Sense-perception being affected only by the *present*. (42 f.)

We pass on to observe the examples afforded by

this treatise of Philo's fondness for drawing illustrations and adducing parallels from the story of the patriarchs and the early history of Israel.

In 46 f. Philo maintains that, though active Sense-perception, being an extension of the potential Sense-perception inherent in Mind, may be said to come *from* Mind, yet to suppose that anything whatever is, in the strict sense of the word, derived from Mind is to be guilty of shallow thinking, and illustrates the truth of what he says by the contrast between Rachel addressing to Jacob the appeal "Give me children," and "the Lord opening Leah's womb" (Gen. xxix. 31 and xxx. 1 f.).

In 51 f. the danger of the drawing down of Mind from the love of God by its cleaving to Sense-perception is brought out by a reference to Levi's noble choice (Deut. xxxiii. 9) making the Lord his portion (x. 9), and to the two goats of Lev. xvi. 8.

Freedom from passions (one of the meanings of "nakedness") is illustrated by Moses setting up the Tent of Witness *outside the Camp* (Exod. xxxiii. 7); by Aaron entering unrobed (!) into the Holy of Holies (*cf.* Lev. xvi. 1 ff.); by Nadab and Abihu leaving their coats (or irrational parts) for Mishael and Elzaphan (Lev. x. 5); by Abraham leaving his country (Gen. xii. 1); by Isaac being forbidden to go down into Egypt (*i.e.* the body, Gen. xxvi. 2); and by Jacob's smoothness (Gen. xxvii. 11). (54 ff.)

Loss of virtue (another meaning given to "nakedness") is illustrated by Noah's lapse (Gen. ix. 21). And the indications which Philo finds in the narrative that the lapse was not irretrievable are illustrated by the provision in the Law that vows made only in intent may be rescinded (Numb. xxx. 10). (60 ff.)

The assaults of pleasure and the healing virtue of Self-mastery are illustrated by the deadly serpents and the brazen serpent of the wilderness journey (Numb. xxi.). Distraction, Pleasure's agent, is like the scorpion (= " scattering ") of the desert. The soul-thirst of " Egypt " is quenched by the Wisdom (" Water ") as is hunger by the Word (" Manna ") of God. A sign of the great daring of Pleasure, in attacking even Moses, is found in the story of his rod. Like Jacob's, it is " discipline." Shrinking from this, Moses casts it away, and is then bidden to grasp it by its tail (Exod. iv. 1 ff.). (78 ff., 87 ff.)

Pleasure is again pointed at in the Prayer of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 16-18), where Dan (= " distinguishing ") is the principle of self-mastery, who is to become a serpent biting the horse (*sc.* passions), and saving from them Mind (the " horseman "), who " waits for " God's " salvation " ; and in the Song of Moses (Exod. xv. 1), where horse and rider, *i.e.* the four passions with Mind mounted on them, are cast into the sea.

Β΄

1 I. “ Καὶ εἶπε κύριος ὁ θεός Οὐ καλὸν εἶναι τὸν
[66] ἄνθρωπον μόνον, ποιήσωμεν αὐτῷ βοηθὸν κατ' αὐτόν ” (Gen. ii. 18). διὰ τί τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὦ προφῆτα, οὐκ ἔστι καλὸν εἶναι μόνον; ὅτι, φησί, καλόν ἐστι τὸν μόνον εἶναι μόνον· μόνος δὲ καὶ καθ' αὑτὸν εἷς ὢν ὁ θεός, οὐδὲν δὲ ὅμοιον θεῷ· ὥστ' ἐπεὶ τὸ μόνον εἶναι τὸν ὄντα καλόν ἐστι—καὶ γὰρ περὶ μόνον αὐτὸν τὸ καλόν—οὐκ ἂν εἴη
2 καλὸν τὸ εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον μόνον. τὸ δὲ μόνον εἶναι τὸν θεὸν ἔστι μὲν ἐκδέξασθαι καὶ οὕτως, ὅτι οὔτε πρὸ γενέσεως ἦν τι σὺν τῷ θεῷ οὔτε κόσμου γενομένου συντάττεταί τι αὐτῷ· χρῄζει γὰρ οὐδενὸς τὸ παράπαν. ἀμείνων δὲ ἥδε ἡ ἐκδοχή· ὁ θεὸς μόνος ἐστὶ καὶ ἕν, οὐ σύγκριμα, φύσις ἁπλῆ, ἡμῶν δ' ἕκαστος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα γέγονε πολλά· οἷον ἐγὼ πολλά εἰμι, ψυχὴ σῶμα, καὶ ψυχῆς ἄλογον λογικόν, πάλιν σώματος θερμὸν ψυχρὸν βαρὺ κοῦφον ξηρὸν ὑγρόν· ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐ σύγκριμα οὐδὲ ἐκ πολλῶν συνεστώς, ἀλλ' ἀμιγὴς

BOOK II

I. "And the Lord God said, It is not good that the man should be alone, let us make for him a helper corresponding to him" (Gen. ii. 18). Why, O prophet, is it not good that the man should be alone? Because, he says, it is good that the Alone should be alone: but God, being One, is alone and unique, and like God there is nothing. Hence, since it is good that He Who is should be alone—for indeed with regard to Him alone can the statement "it is good" be made—it follows that it would not be good that the man should be alone. There is another way in which we may understand the statement that God is alone. It may mean that neither before creation was there anything with God, nor, when the universe had come into being, does anything take its place with Him; for there is absolutely nothing which He needs. A yet better interpretation is the following. God is alone, a Unity, in the sense that His nature is simple not composite, whereas each one of us and of all other created beings is made up of many things. I, for example, am many things in one. I am soul and body. To soul belong rational and irrational parts, and to body, again, different properties, warm and cold, heavy and light, dry and moist. But God is not a composite Being, consisting of many parts,

3 ἄλλῳ· ὃ γὰρ ἂν προσκριθῇ | θεῷ, ἢ κρεῖσσόν
[67] ἐστιν αὐτοῦ ἢ ἔλασσον ἢ ἴσον αὐτῷ· οὔτε δὲ ἴσον οὔτε κρεῖσσόν ἐστι θεοῦ, ἔλασσόν γε μὴν οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσκρίνεται· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλαττωθήσεται· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ φθαρτὸς ἔσται, ὅπερ οὐδὲ θέμις νοῆσαι. τέτακται οὖν ὁ θεὸς κατὰ τὸ ἓν καὶ τὴν μονάδα, μᾶλλον δὲ ἡ μονὰς κατὰ τὸν ἕνα θεόν· πᾶς γὰρ ἀριθμὸς νεώτερος κόσμου, ὡς καὶ χρόνος, ὁ δὲ θεὸς πρεσβύτερος κόσμου καὶ δημιουργός.

4 II. Οὐδένα δὲ ἄνθρωπον καλόν ἐστιν εἶναι μόνον. δύο γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γένη, τό τε κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα γεγονὸς καὶ τὸ πεπλασμένον ἐκ γῆς· οὔτε δὲ τῷ κατ' εἰκόνα ἀνθρώπῳ καλόν ἐστιν εἶναι μόνῳ—ἐφίεται γὰρ τῆς εἰκόνος· ἡ γὰρ εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρχέτυπος ἄλλων ἐστί· πᾶν δὲ μίμημα ποθεῖ τοῦτο, οὗπέρ ἐστι μίμημα, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου τάττεται—οὔτε τῷ πλαστῷ πολὺ μᾶλλον καλόν ἐστιν εἶναι μόνῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδύνατον, καὶ γὰρ αἰσθήσεις καὶ πάθη καὶ κακίαι καὶ μυρία ἄλλα
5 τούτῳ τῷ νῷ συνέζευκται καὶ συνήρμοσται. τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ ἀνθρώπῳ βοηθὸς συνίσταται, πρῶτον μὲν γενητός, "ποιήσωμεν" γάρ φησιν "αὐτῷ βοηθόν," ἔπειτα δὲ νεώτερος τοῦ βοηθουμένου· πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἔπλασε τὸν νοῦν, μέλλει δὲ πλάττειν τὸν βοηθὸν αὐτοῦ. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα φυσικῶς ἀλληγορεῖ· ἡ γὰρ αἴσθησις καὶ τὰ πάθη

nor is He mixed with aught else. For whatever is added to God, is either superior or inferior or equal to Him. But there is nothing equal or superior to God. And no lesser thing is resolved into Him. If He do so assimilate any lesser thing, He also will be lessened. And if He can be made less, He will also be capable of corruption ; and even to imagine this were blasphemous. The "one" and the "monad" are, therefore, the only standard for determining the category to which God belongs. Rather should we say, the One God is the sole standard for the "monad." For, like time, all number is subsequent to the universe ; and God is prior to the universe, and is its Maker.

II. It is not good that *any* man should be alone. For there are *two* races of men, the one made after the (Divine) Image, and the one moulded out of the earth. For the man made after the Image it is not good to be alone, because he yearns after the Image. For the image of God is a pattern of which copies are made, and every copy longs for that of which it is a copy, and its station is at its side. Far less is it good for the man moulded of the earth to be alone. Nay, it is impossible. For with the mind so formed, linked to it in closest fellowship, are senses, passions, vices, ten thousand other presences. With the second man a helper is associated. To begin with, the helper is a created one, for it says, "Let us *make* a helper for him" ; and, in the next place, is subsequent to him who is to be helped, for He had formed the mind before and is about to form its helper. In these particulars again, while using terms of outward nature he is conveying a deeper meaning. For sense and the passions are helpers

τῆς ψυχῆς εἰσι βοηθοὶ νεώτεροι τῆς ψυχῦς. πῶς
μὲν οὖν βοηθοῦσιν, ὀψόμεθα· ὅτι δέ εἰσι νεώτεροι,
6 θεασώμεθα. III. ὥσπερ κατὰ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν
ἰατρῶν καὶ φυσικῶν δοκεῖ τοῦ ὅλου σώματος
προπλάττεσθαι ἡ καρδία, θεμελίου τρόπον ἢ ὡς
ἐν νηὶ τρόπις, ἐφ' ᾗ οἰκοδομεῖται τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα—
παρὸ καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἔτι ἐμπηδᾶν φασιν
αὐτὴν ὡς καὶ πρώτην γινομένην καὶ ὑστέραν
φθειρομένην—οὕτως καὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν τῆς
ψυχῆς πρεσβύτερον τῆς ὅλης εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἄλογον
νεώτερον, οὗ τὴν γένεσιν οὔπω μὲν δεδήλωκε,
μέλλει δὲ ὑπογράφειν. τὸ δὲ ἄλογον αἴσθησίς
ἐστι καὶ τὰ ταύτης ἔκγονα πάθη, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ
μὴ κρίσεις εἰσὶν ἡμέτεραι. καὶ νεώτερος οὖν
οὗτος ὁ βοηθὸς [θεοῦ][a] καὶ γενητὸς εἰκότως.
7 τὸ δ' ὑπερτεθὲν ἴδωμεν, πῶς βοηθεῖ.
[68] | πῶς ἡμῶν ὁ νοῦς καταλαμβάνει, ὅτι τουτὶ
λευκὸν ἢ μέλαν ἐστίν, εἰ μὴ βοηθῷ χρησάμενος
ὁράσει; πῶς δὲ ὅτι ἡδεῖα ἡ τοῦ κιθαρῳδοῦ φωνὴ
ἢ τοὐναντίον ἐκμελής, εἰ μὴ βοηθῷ χρησάμενος
ἀκοῇ; πῶς δὲ ὅτι εὐώδεις ἢ δυσώδεις οἱ ἀτμοί,
εἰ μὴ συμμάχῳ χρησάμενος ὀσφρήσει; πῶς δὲ
δοκιμάζει τοὺς χυλούς, εἰ μὴ διὰ βοηθοῦ τῆς
8 γεύσεως; πῶς δὲ αὖ τὰ μαλακὰ καὶ τραχέα, εἰ
μὴ δι' ἁφῆς; ἔστι τοίνυν ἕτερον εἶδος βοηθῶν,
ὡς ἔφην, τὰ πάθη· καὶ γὰρ ἡδονὴ βοηθεῖ πρὸς
διαμονὴν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμία, καὶ
λύπη μέντοι καὶ φόβος δάκνοντα τὴν ψυχὴν
ἐπέστρεψεν αὐτὴν μηδενὸς ὀλιγωρεῖν, ὀργή τε

[a] See App. p. 479.

of the soul and come after the soul. In what way they help we shall see: let us fix our attention on their coming later than the soul. III. In the view of the best physicians and natural philosophers the heart is thought to be formed before the whole body, by way of a foundation, or as the keel in a ship, the rest of the body being built upon it; and they assert that accordingly even after death it still beats, and decays after the body, as it came into existence before it. In just the same way, it is thought, the princely part of the soul is older than the soul as a whole, and the irrational portion younger. The creation of this the prophet has not as yet related, but he is going to describe it. The irrational portion is sense and the passions which are the offspring of sense, unquestionably so if they are not the result of any choice of our own.[a] This helper then is later born and of course created.

Now let us consider the point which we deferred, *how* the help is given. How does our mind apprehend the fact that an object is white or black, except by using sight as a helper? How does it become aware that the musician's voice is sweet or on the other hand out of tune, save by using the sense of hearing as a helper? How does it recognize that perfumes are pleasant or disagreeable, except by using as an ally the sense of smell? How does it distinguish savours, except by means of the taste acting as its helper? Things smooth and rough, again, how but by touch? Moreover, there are, as I have said, helpers of another kind, namely the passions. For pleasure and desire contribute to the permanence of our kind: pain and fear are like bites or stings warning the soul to treat nothing carelessly: anger

ἀμυντήριον ὅπλον [ἢ] μεγάλα πολλοὺς ὠφέλησε, καὶ τἆλλα ταύτῃ. διὸ καὶ εὐθυβόλως εἶπε "κατ' αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν βοηθόν"· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι οἰκεῖος οὗτος ὁ βοηθός ἐστι τῷ νῷ ὡς ἂν ἀδελφὸς καὶ ὅμαιμος· μιᾶς γάρ ἐστι ψυχῆς μέρη καὶ γεννήματα ἥ τε αἴσθησις καὶ τὰ πάθη.

9 IV. *Τοῦ δὲ βοηθοῦ ἐστι διττὸν τὸ εἶδος, τὸ μὲν ἐν πάθεσι, τὸ δ' ἐν αἰσθήσει. τό γε νῦν μόνον τὸ πρότερον εἶδος γεννήσει, λέγει γάρ· "καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς ἔτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντα τὰ θηρία τοῦ ἀγροῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδάμ, ἰδεῖν τί καλέσει αὐτά· καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἂν ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸ Ἀδὰμ ψυχὴν ζῶσαν, τοῦτο ὄνομα αὐτοῦ"* (Gen. ii. 19). *ὁρᾷς, τίνες εἰσὶν ἡμῶν οἱ βοηθοί, τὰ θηρία, τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ πάθη· εἰπὼν γὰρ "ποιήσωμεν βοηθὸν κατ' αὐτόν" ἐπιφέρει τὸ "ἔπλασε τὰ θηρία," ὡς*
10 *τῶν θηρίων ὄντων βοηθῶν ἡμῖν. οὐ κυρίως δὲ οὗτοι βοηθοὶ ἀλλὰ καταχρηστικῶς λέγονται, εὑρίσκονταί γέ τοι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν* <*καὶ*> *πολέμιοι, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἔστιν ὅτε οἱ σύμμαχοι προδόται καὶ αὐτόμολοι καὶ ἐν ταῖς φιλίαις οἱ κόλακες ἀντὶ ἑταίρων ἐχθροί. οὐρανὸν δὲ καὶ ἀγρὸν συνωνύμως κέκληκεν ἀλληγορῶν τὸν νοῦν· οὗτος γὰρ καὶ ὡς ἀγρὸς ἀνατολὰς καὶ βλάστας ἔχει μυρίας ὅσας καὶ ὡς οὐρανὸς πάλιν λαμπρὰς*
11 *καὶ θείας καὶ εὐδαίμονας φύσεις. θηρίοις δὲ καὶ πτηνοῖς ἀπεικάζει τὰ πάθη, ὅτι σίνεται τὸν νοῦν ἀτίθασα καὶ ἀνήμερα ὄντα καὶ ὅτι πτηνῶν τρόπον ἐπιποτᾶται τῇ διανοίᾳ· ὀξεῖα γὰρ ἡ τούτων καὶ*

[a] Or "his." See 18. *αὐτοῦ* can be masculine or neuter.

is a weapon of defence, which has conferred great boons on many: and so with the other passions. This shows also that the prophet was perfectly right in saying that the helper must be one "corresponding to him." For in very deed this helper is intimately allied to the mind, as though a brother of one blood with it: for sense-perception and passions are parts and offspring of one soul with it.

IV. There are two species of this helper: the one has its sphere in the passions, the other in sense-perception. At present He will produce the former only, for he says, "And God moulded moreover out of the earth all the wild beasts of the field, and all the birds of the heaven, and led them to Adam, to see what he would call them: and whatever Adam called a living soul, this was its [a] name" (Gen. ii. 19). You see who are our helpers, the wild beasts, the soul's passions: for after saying, "Let us make a helper corresponding to him," he adds the words, "He moulded the wild beasts," implying that the wild beasts are our helpers. These are not properly called our helpers, but by a straining of language; in reality they are found to be our actual foes, just as the allies of states sometimes turn out to be traitors and deserters, and in private friendships flatterers prove enemies instead of comrades. He uses the terms "heaven" and "field" as synonyms, meaning the mind. For the mind is like the field in having countless sproutings and upgrowths, and like heaven again in having natures brilliant and godlike and blessed. The passions he likens to wild beasts and birds, because, savage and untamed as they are, they tear the soul to pieces, and because like winged things they light upon the understanding;

ἀνεπίσχετος ὁρμή. οὐ παρέργως δὲ πρόσκειται
τῷ "ἔπλασε" τὸ "ἔτι." διὰ τί; ὅτι καὶ
[69] ἐπάνω πεπλάσθαι | τὰ θηρία φησὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀνθρώ-
που γενέσεως, ⟨ὡς⟩ καὶ δηλοῖ διὰ τούτων ἐν
ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· "καὶ εἶπεν Ἐξαγαγέτω ἡ γῆ ψυχὴν
ζῶσαν κατὰ γένος, τετράποδα καὶ ἑρπετὰ καὶ
12 θηρία" (Gen. i. 24). τί παθὼν οὖν
ἄλλα πλάττει θηρία νῦν οὐκ ἀρκεσθεὶς τοῖς προ-
τέροις; λεκτέον οὖν ἠθικῶς μὲν τοῦτο· πλούσιόν
ἐστι τὸ κακίας γένος ἐν τῷ γενητῷ, ὥστε ἀεὶ
γεννᾶσθαι τὰ φαυλότατα ἐν τούτῳ· φυσικῶς δὲ
ἐκεῖνο· πρότερον μὲν ἐν τῇ ἑξαημέρῳ τὰ γένη
τῶν παθῶν καὶ τὰς ἰδέας εἰργάζετο, νυνὶ δὲ τὰ
13 εἴδη προσπλάττει· διό φησιν "ἔπλασεν ἔτι." ὅτι
δὲ τὰ πάλαι κατασκευασθέντα γένη ἦν, φανερὸν
ἐξ ὧν φησιν "ἐξαγαγέτω ἡ γῆ ψυχὴν ζῶσαν" οὐ
κατ' εἶδος, ἀλλὰ "κατὰ γένος." καὶ τοιοῦτος ἐν
ἅπασιν εὑρίσκεται· πρὸ γὰρ τῶν εἰδῶν ἀποτελεῖ τὰ
γένη, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· προτυπώσας
γὰρ τὸν γενικὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἄρρεν καὶ
τὸ θῆλυ γένος φησὶν εἶναι, ὕστερον τὸ εἶδος ἀπ-
εργάζεται τὸν Ἀδάμ.

14 V. Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ εἶδος τῶν βοηθῶν εἴρηκε,
τὸ δ' ἕτερον ὑπερτίθεται τὸ τῆς αἰσθήσεως, ἔστ'
ἂν ἐπιχειρῇ πλάττειν τὴν γυναῖκα· ἐκεῖνο δ'

for the assault of the passions is violent and irresistible. The addition of "further" to "formed" is by no means otiose. How do we see this? Because above also he mentions the forming of the wild beasts before the creation of man, as we see from these words referring to the sixth day: and He said, "Let the earth bring forth the living soul after its kind, four-footed animals and creeping things and wild beasts" (Gen. i. 24). How comes He, then, to form other wild beasts now, and not to be satisfied with those former ones? From the ethical point of view what we must say is this. In the realm of created things the class or kind of wickedness is abundant. It follows that in this the worst things are ever being produced. From the philosophical point of view our answer must be, that on the former occasion, when engaged in the Work of the six days, He wrought the genera or kinds and the originals of the passions, whereas now He is fashioning the species as well. This is why he says, "He fashioned moreover." That what were created in the first instance were genera, is evident from the words employed, "Let the earth bring forth the living soul," not according to species but "according to kind." And we find Him in every instance working in this way. Before the species He completes the genera. He does so in the case of man. Having first fashioned man as a genus, in which the prophet says that there is the male and the female genus, He afterwards makes Adam, the finished form or species.

V. Helpers of this sort the prophet has now dealt with; the other sort he defers, that of sense-perception, I mean, until the Creator takes in hand to

ὑπερθέμενος περὶ τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων θέσεως τεχνολογεῖ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ τροπικὴ καὶ ἡ ῥητὴ ἀπόδοσις ἀξία τοῦ θαυμάζεσθαι· ἡ μὲν ῥητή, παρόσον τὴν θέσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων προσῆψε τῷ
15 πρώτῳ γενομένῳ ὁ νομοθέτης. καὶ γὰρ οἱ παρ' Ἕλλησι φιλοσοφοῦντες εἶπον εἶναι σοφοὺς τοὺς πρώτους τοῖς πράγμασι τὰ ὀνόματα θέντας· Μωυσῆς δὲ ἄμεινον, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν οὔ τισι τῶν πρότερον, ἀλλὰ τῷ πρώτῳ γενομένῳ, ἵνα ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἀρχὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις γενέσεως ἐπλάσθη, οὕτως καὶ αὐτὸς ἀρχὴ τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι νομισθῇ—μὴ γὰρ ὄντων ὀνομάτων, οὐδ' ἂν διάλεκτος ἦν—ἔπειτα ὅτι πολλῶν μὲν τιθέντων ὀνόματα διάφωνα καὶ ἄμικτα ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι, ἄλλων ἄλλως τιθέντων, ἑνὸς δὲ ὤφειλεν ἡ θέσις ἐφαρμόττειν τῷ πράγματι, καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι σύμβολον ἅπασι τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ τυγχάνοντος ἢ τοῦ σημαινομένου.
16 VI. ὁ δὲ ἠθικὸς λόγος τοιοῦτός ἐστιν· τὸ "τί" πολλάκις τίθεμεν ἀντὶ τοῦ "διὰ τί," οἷον τί λέλουσαι, τί περιπατεῖς, τί διαλέγῃ, πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ἀντὶ τοῦ "διὰ τί." ὅταν οὖν λέγῃ "ἰδεῖν τί καλέσει," ἄκουε ἴσον τῷ, διὰ τί καλέσει καὶ προσκαλέσεται καὶ ἀσπάσεται τούτων ἕκαστον ὁ νοῦς· πότερον ἕνεκα τοῦ ἀναγκαίου μόνον, ὅτι

[a] See App. p. 479.

fashion woman. Having deferred that subject, he goes on to a systematic treatment of the giving of names. Here his literal statement and his symbolic interpretation alike claim our admiration. What we admire in the Lawgiver's literal statement is his ascription to the first man of the fixing of names. Indeed Greek philosophers[a] said that those who first assigned names to things were wise men. Moses did better than they, first of all in ascribing it not to some of the men of old but to the first man created. His purpose was that, as Adam was formed to be the beginning from which all others drew their birth, so too no other than he should be regarded as the beginning of the use of speech: for even language would not have existed, if there had not been names. Again, had many persons bestowed names on things, they would inevitably have been incongruous and ill-matched, different persons imposing them on different principles, whereas the naming by one man was bound to bring about harmony between name and thing, and the name given was sure to be a symbol, the same for all men, of any object to which the name was attached or of the meaning attaching to the name. VI. What he says in the domain of ethics is to this effect. We often use "τί" (= "what") for "διὰ τί"[a] ("by reason of what"), as "what (*i.e.* why) have you bathed?" "What (*i.e.* 'why') are you walking?" "What (*i.e.* 'why') are you conversing?" In all these cases "what" stands for "because of what." When the prophet says "to see *what* he would call them" you should understand something equivalent to 'why the mind would call and invite to it and greet' each of these objects, whether only for the

κατέζευκται τὸ θνητὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης πάθεσι καὶ
κακίαις, ἢ καὶ ἕνεκα τοῦ ἀμέτρου καὶ περιττοῦ·
καὶ πότερον διὰ τὰς τοῦ γηγενοῦς χρείας ἢ διὰ
17 τὸ κρίνειν αὐτὰ βέλτιστα καὶ θαυμασιώτατα· οἷον
[70] ἡδονῇ χρῆσθαι δεῖ τὸ γεγονός· ἀλλ' ὁ | μὲν φαῦλος
ὡς ἀγαθῷ τελείῳ χρήσεται, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος ὡς
μόνον ἀναγκαίῳ· χωρὶς γὰρ ἡδονῆς οὐδὲν γίνεται
τῶν ἐν τῷ θνητῷ γένει. πάλιν τὴν τῶν χρημάτων
κτῆσιν ὁ μὲν <φαῦλος> τελειότατον ἀγαθὸν
κρίνει, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος ἀναγκαῖον καὶ χρήσιμον
αὐτὸ μόνον. εἰκότως οὖν ὁ θεὸς ἰδεῖν καὶ κατα-
μαθεῖν βούλεται, πῶς ἕκαστον τούτων προσκαλεῖται
καὶ ἀποδέχεται ὁ νοῦς, εἴτε ὡς ἀγαθὰ εἴτε ὡς
18 ἀδιάφορα ἢ ὡς κακὰ μέν, χρειώδη δὲ ἄλλως. διὸ
καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἂν προσεκαλέσατο καὶ ἠσπάσατο ὡς
ψυχὴν ζῶσαν ἰσότιμον αὐτὸ ἡγησάμενος ψυχῇ,
τοῦτο ὄνομα οὐ τοῦ κληθέντος ἐγίνετο μόνον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ καλέσαντος· οἷον, εἰ ἀπεδέξατο
ἡδονήν, ἐκαλεῖτο ἡδονικός, εἰ ἐπιθυμίαν, ἐπι-
θυμητικός, εἰ ἀκολασίαν, ἀκόλαστος, εἰ δειλίαν,
δειλός, καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων· ὥσπερ γὰρ
ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρετῶν ὁ κατ' αὐτὰς ποιὸς καλεῖται
φρόνιμος ἢ σώφρων ἢ δίκαιος ἢ ἀνδρεῖος, οὕτως
ἀπὸ τῶν κακιῶν ἄδικος καὶ ἄφρων καὶ ἄνανδρος,
ἐπειδὰν τὰς ἕξεις προσκαλέσηται καὶ δεξιώσηται.
19 VII. "Καὶ ἐπέβαλεν ὁ θεὸς ἔκστασιν ἐπὶ τὸν
Ἀδάμ, καὶ ὕπνωσε· καὶ ἔλαβε μίαν τῶν πλευρῶν
αὐτοῦ" καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς (Gen. ii. 21). τὸ ῥητὸν ἐπὶ

[a] See App. p. 479.

sake of that which it cannot dispense with, seeing that all that is mortal is necessarily bound up with passions and vices, or also for the sake of what is in excess of reasonable needs; and whether to satisfy the needs of flesh and blood, or because it deems them good and admirable above all things. For example. A created being cannot but make use of pleasure. But the worthless man will use it as a perfect good, but the man of worth simply as a necessity, remembering that apart from pleasure nothing in mortal kind comes into existence. Again the worthless man accounts the acquisition of wealth a most perfect good; the man of worth regards it as just necessary and serviceable and no more. No wonder then that God wishes to see and ascertain how the mind invites and welcomes each of these, whether as good, or as indifferent, or as bad but at all events as serviceable. Hence it came about that everything which he called to himself and greeted as living soul, reckoning it equal in worth to the soul, this became the name not only of the thing called but of him who called it.[a] For example, if he welcomed pleasure, he was called pleasure-loving; if desire, desire-ridden; if licence, licentious; if cowardice, cowardly; and so on. For, just as the man whose quality is determined by the virtues is from them called wise or sober-minded or just or brave, so from the vices is he called unjust and foolish and unmanly, whensoever he has invited to himself and given a hearty welcome to the corresponding dispositions.

VII. "And God brought a trance upon Adam, and he fell asleep; and He took one of his sides" and what follows (Gen. ii. 21). These words in

τούτου μυθῶδές ἐστι· πῶς γὰρ ἂν παραδέξαιτό τις, ὅτι γέγονεν ἐκ πλευρᾶς ἀνδρὸς γυνὴ ἢ συνόλως ἄνθρωπος; τί δὲ ἐκώλυεν, ὥσπερ ἐκ γῆς ἄνδρα ἐδημιούργει τὸ αἴτιον, οὕτως καὶ γυναῖκα δημιουργῆσαι; ὅ τε γὰρ ποιῶν ὁ αὐτὸς ἦν ἥ τε ὕλη σχεδὸν ἄπειρος, ἐξ ἧς πᾶσα ποιότης κατεσκευάζετο. διὰ τί δὲ οὐκ ἐξ ἄλλου μέρους, τοσούτων ὑπαρχόντων, ἀλλ᾿ ἐκ πλευρᾶς ἐτύπου τὴν γυναῖκα; ποτέραν δὲ πλευρὰν <ἔλαβεν>—ἵνα καὶ δύο μόνας ἐμφαίνεσθαι φῶμεν, πρὸς γὰρ ἀλήθειαν οὐδὲ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἐδήλωσεν—; ἆρά γε τὴν εὐώνυμον
20 ἢ τὴν δεξιάν; εἴ γε μὴν ἀνεπλήρου σαρκὶ τὴν ἑτέραν, ἡ ἀπολειπομένη οὐκ ἦν σαρκίνη δήπου; καὶ μὴν ἀδελφαί γ᾿ εἰσὶ καὶ συγγενεῖς πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν αἱ ἡμῶν πλευραὶ καὶ σαρκὸς γεγόνασι.
21 τί οὖν λεκτέον; πλευρὰς ὁ βίος ὀνομάζει τὰς δυνάμεις· λέγομεν γὰρ πλευρὰς ἔχειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἴσον τῷ δυνάμεις, καὶ εὔπλευρον εἶναι τὸν ἀθλητὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἰσχυρόν, καὶ πλευρὰς ἔχειν τὸν κιθαρῳδὸν
22 ἀντὶ τοῦ δύναμιν ἐρρωμένην ἐν τῷ ᾄδειν. τούτου
[71] προειρημένου κἀκεῖνο λεκτέον, | ὅτι ὁ γυμνὸς καὶ ἀνένδετος σώματι νοῦς—περὶ γὰρ τοῦ μήπω ἐνδεδεμένου ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος—πολλὰς ἔχει δυνάμεις, ἑκτικὴν φυτικὴν ψυχικὴν[1] διανοητικήν, ἄλλας μυρίας κατά τε εἴδη καὶ γένη. ἡ μὲν ἕξις κοινὴ καὶ τῶν ἀψύχων ἐστὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, ἧς μετέχει

[1] λογικὴν is omitted with the Armenian version.

[a] See App. pp. 479, 480. [b] See App. p. 480.

their literal sense are of the nature of a myth. For how could anyone admit that a woman, or a human being at all, came into existence out of a man's side ? And what was there to hinder the First Cause from creating woman, as He created man, out of the earth ? For not only was the Maker the same Being, but the material too, out of which every particular kind was fashioned, was practically unlimited. And why, when there were so many parts to choose from, did He form the woman not from some other part but from the side ? And which side did he take ? For we may assume that only two are indicated, as there is in fact nothing to suggest a large number of them. Did he take the left or the right side ? If He filled up with flesh (the place of) the one which He took, are we to suppose that the one which He left was *not* made of flesh ?[a] Truly our sides are twin in all their parts and are made of flesh. What then are we to say ? "Sides" is a term of ordinary life for "strength." To say that a man has "sides" is equivalent to saying that he is strong, we say of a powerful athlete "he has stout sides," and to say that a singer has "sides" is as much as to say that he has great lung power in singing. Having said this, we must go on to remark that the mind when as yet unclothed and unconfined by the body (and it is of the mind when not so confined that he is speaking) has many powers. It has the power of holding together,[b] of growing, of conscious life, of thought, and countless other powers, varying both in species and genus. Lifeless things, like stones and blocks of wood, share with all others the power of holding together, of which the bones in us, which are not unlike stones,

καὶ τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐοικότα λίθοις ὀστέα. ἡ δὲ φύσις
διατείνει καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ φυτά· καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν δέ ἐστιν
ἐοικότα φυτοῖς, ὄνυχές τε καὶ τρίχες· ἔστι δὲ ἡ
23 φύσις ἕξις ἤδη κινουμένη. ψυχὴ δέ ἐστι φύσις
προσειληφυῖα φαντασίαν καὶ ὁρμήν· αὕτη κοινὴ
καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ἐστίν· ἔχει δὲ καὶ ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς
ἀναλογοῦν τι ἀλόγου ψυχῇ. πάλιν ἡ διανοητικὴ
δύναμις ἰδία τοῦ νοῦ ἐστι, καὶ[1] κοινὴ μὲν τάχα
καὶ τῶν θειοτέρων φύσεων, ἰδία δὲ ὡς ἐν θνητοῖς
ἀνθρώπου· αὕτη δὲ διττή, ἡ μὲν καθ' ἣν λογικοί
ἐσμεν νοῦ μετέχοντες, ἡ δὲ καθ' ἣν διαλεγόμεθα.
24 ἔστιν <οὖν καὶ> ἄλλη δύναμις ἐν ψυχῇ τούτων
ἀδελφή, ἡ αἰσθητική, περὶ ἧς ἐστιν ὁ λόγος· οὐδὲν
γὰρ ἄλλο νῦν ὑπογράφει ἢ γένεσιν τῆς κατ'
ἐνέργειαν αἰσθήσεως· καὶ κατὰ λόγον· VIII. μετὰ
γὰρ νοῦν εὐθὺς ἔδει δημιουργηθῆναι αἴσθησιν
βοηθὸν αὐτῷ καὶ σύμμαχον. τελεσιουργήσας οὖν
ἐκεῖνον τὸ δεύτερον καὶ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ δυνάμει
πλάττει δημιούργημα, τὴν κατ' ἐνέργειαν αἴσθησιν,
πρὸς συμπλήρωσιν τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς καὶ πρὸς τὴν
25 τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἀντίληψιν. πῶς οὖν γεννᾶται;
ὡς αὐτὸς πάλιν φησίν, ὅταν ὑπνώσῃ ὁ νοῦς· τῷ
γὰρ ὄντι ὑπνώσαντος νοῦ γίνεται αἴσθησις, καὶ
γὰρ ἔμπαλιν ἐγρηγορότος νοῦ σβέννυται· τεκ-

[1] The words ἡ λογική are omitted. See Leopold Cohn's Note in Heinemann's translation (p. 61).

partake. "Growth" extends to plants, and there are parts in us, such as our nails and hair, resembling plants; "growth" is coherence capable of moving itself. Conscious life is the power to grow, with the additional power of receiving impressions and being the subject of impulses. This is shared also by creatures without reason. Indeed our mind contains a part that is analogous to the conscious life of a creature without reason. Once more, the power of thinking is peculiar to the mind, and while shared, it may well be, by beings more akin to God, is, so far as mortal beings are concerned, peculiar to man. This power or faculty is twofold. We are rational beings, on the one hand as being partakers of mind, and on the other as being capable of discourse. Well, there is also another power or faculty in the soul, closely akin to these, namely that of receiving sense-impressions, and it is of this that the prophet is speaking. For his immediate concern is just this, to indicate the origin of active sense-perception. And logical sequence leads him to do so. VIII. For it was requisite that the creation of mind should be followed immediately by that of sense-perception, to be a helper and ally to it. Having then finished the creation of the mind He fashions the product of creative skill that comes next to it alike in order and in power, namely active sense-perception, with a view to the completeness of the whole soul, and with a view to its apprehension of objects presented to it. How is it, then, produced? As the prophet himself again says, it is when the mind has fallen asleep. As a matter of fact it is when the mind has gone to sleep that perception begins, for conversely when the mind wakes up perception is quenched.

μήριον δέ· ὅταν τι βουλώμεθα ἀκριβῶς νοῆσαι, εἰς ἐρημίαν ἀποδιδράσκομεν, καταμύομεν τὰς ὄψεις, τὰ ὦτα ἐπιφράττομεν, ἀποταττόμεθα ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν. οὕτως μέν, ὅταν ἀναστῇ καὶ ἐγρηγόρσει χρῆται ὁ νοῦς, φθείρεται αἴσθησις.

26 Ἴδωμεν δὲ καὶ θάτερον, πῶς ὕπνῳ χρῆται ὁ νοῦς. περιαναστάσης καὶ ζωπυρηθείσης αἰσθήσεως, ὅταν ἡ ὄψις γραφέων ἢ πλαστῶν ἔργα εὖ δεδημιουργημένα καθορᾷ, οὐχ ὁ νοῦς ἄπρακτός ἐστι νοητὸν ἐπινοῶν οὐδέν; τί δ᾽ ὅταν ἡ ἀκοὴ προσέχῃ φωνῆς ἐμμελείᾳ, δύναται ὁ νοῦς λογίζεσθαί τι τῶν οἰκείων; οὐδαμῶς. καὶ μὴν πολὺ πλέον ἄπρακτος γίνεται, ὅταν ἡ γεῦσις ἐξαναστᾶσα λάβρως ἐμπιπλῆται τῶν γαστρὸς ἡδονῶν.

27 Διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς φοβηθείς, μή ποτε ὁ νοῦς μὴ μόνον κοιμηθῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελείως ἀποθάνῃ, φησὶν [72] ἐν | ἑτέροις· "καὶ πάσσαλος ἔσται σοι ἐπὶ τῆς ζώνης σου· καὶ ἔσται, ὅταν διακαθιζάνῃς, ὀρύξεις ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπαγαγὼν καλύψεις τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην σου" (Deut. xxiii. 13), πάσσαλον συμβολικῶς φάσκων τὸν ἐξορύσσοντα λόγον τὰ κε-

28 κρυμμένα τῶν πραγμάτων. κελεύει δ᾽ αὐτὸν φορεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ πάθους, ὃ ἀνεζῶσθαι χρὴ καὶ μὴ ἐᾶν κεχαλάσθαι καὶ ἀνεῖσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ πρακτέον, ὅταν ὁ νοῦς τοῦ τόνου τῶν νοητῶν ἀποστὰς ὑφιῆται πρὸς τὰ πάθη καὶ διακαθιζάνῃ ἐνδιδοὺς καὶ

A proof of this is afforded by the fact that whenever we wish to get an accurate understanding of a subject we hurry off to a lonely spot; we close our eyes; we stop our ears; we say "good-bye" to our perceptive faculties. So then, we see that, when the mind is astir and awake, the power of perception is suppressed.

There is the other point to be noticed. Let us see what happens to the mind in sleep. When the perceptive faculty has been set astir and aflame, owing to the eye contemplating the masterpieces of painters or sculptors, does not the mind remain inactive, and cease to exercise itself on objects of thought? And when the ear is intent on the tunefulness of a voice, can the mind be employing its reasoning power upon any of the subjects belonging to its sphere? Of course not. And in good sooth the mind finds itself still more completely out of work when the sense of taste has fully roused itself and is gorging itself with all that delights the appetite.

And this is the reason why Moses, fearing lest the mind should not only go to sleep but absolutely die, says in another place, "And thou shalt have a shovel upon thy belt; and it shall be, when thou sittest down abroad, thou shalt dig therewith and cover over thine unseemliness" (Deut. xxiii. 13). He uses the term "shovel" figuratively for the reason that digs out hidden matters. And he bids the man wear it upon his passion, which must be girded up and which he must not allow to be loose and slack. And this girding must be put into practice whenever the mind, relaxing from the strain of its own objects, lowers itself to the passions, and "sits down abroad," giving itself up to be drawn

29 ἀγόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς σωματικῆς ἀνάγκης. καὶ οὕτως
ἔχει· ὅταν ἐν ταῖς ἁβροδιαίτοις συνουσίαις ἐπι-
λάθηται ὁ νοῦς ἑαυτοῦ κρατηθεὶς τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς
ἡδονὰς ἄγουσι, δεδουλώμεθα καὶ ἀκατακαλύπτῳ
τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ χρώμεθα· ἐὰν δὲ ὁ λόγος ἰσχύσῃ
ἀνακαθᾶραι τὸ πάθος, οὔτε πίνοντες μεθυσκόμεθα
οὔτε ἐσθίοντες ἐξυβρίζομεν διὰ κόρον, ἀλλὰ δίχα
30 τοῦ ληρεῖν νηφάλια σιτούμεθα. οὐκοῦν ἥ τε τῶν
αἰσθήσεων ἐγρήγορσις ὕπνος ἐστὶ <τοῦ> νοῦ ἥ τε
τοῦ νοῦ ἐγρήγορσις ἀπραξία τῶν αἰσθήσεων,
καθάπερ καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατείλαντος μὲν ἀφανεῖς αἱ
τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων λάμψεις, καταδύντος δὲ
ἔκδηλοι· ἡλίου δὴ τρόπον ὁ νοῦς ἐγρηγορὼς μὲν
ἐπισκιάζει ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι, κοιμηθεὶς δὲ αὐτὰς
ἐξέλαμψε.

31 IX. Τούτων εἰρημένων ἐφαρμοστέον τὰς λέξεις.
"ἐπέβαλε" φησίν "ὁ θεὸς ἔκστασιν ἐπὶ τὸν
Ἀδάμ, καὶ ὕπνωσεν" (Gen. ii. 21)· ὀρθῶς· ἡ
γὰρ ἔκστασις καὶ τροπὴ τοῦ νοῦ ὕπνος ἐστὶν
αὐτοῦ· ἐξίσταται δέ, ὅταν μὴ πραγματεύηται τὰ
ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτῷ νοητά· ὅτε δ' οὐκ ἐνεργεῖ
ταῦτα, κοιμᾶται. εὖ δὲ τὸ φάναι ὅτι ἐξίσταται,
τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τρέπεται, οὐ παρ' ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ
παρὰ τὸν ἐπιβάλλοντα καὶ ἐπιφέροντα καὶ ἐπι-
32 πέμποντα τὴν τροπὴν θεόν. καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει·
εἰ γοῦν παρ' ἐμὲ ἦν τὸ τρέπεσθαι, ὁπότε ἐβου-
λόμην, ἂν ἐχρώμην αὐτῷ, καὶ ὁπότε μὴ ἐπροῃρού-
μην, ἄτρεπτος διετέλουν· νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ἀντιφιλονεικεῖ
μοι ἡ τροπή, καὶ πολλάκις βουλόμενος καθῆκόν

by bodily necessity. And this is how the matter stands. Whenever the mind forgets itself amid the luxuries of a festive gathering and is mastered by all that conduces to pleasure, we are in bondage and we leave our "unseemliness" uncovered. But if the reason prove strong enough to purge the passion, we neither go on drinking till we are drunk, nor eat so greedily as to wax wanton, but we banish folly and take our food soberly. Thus the wakefulness of the senses means sleep for the mind, and the wakefulness of the mind a time of leisure for the senses; just as, when the sun has risen, the lights of the other heavenly bodies are invisible; when it has set, they show themselves. The mind, like the sun, when awake, throws the senses into the shade, but if it goes to sleep, it causes them to shine out.

IX. Having said this, we must show how the terms employed accord with it. "God cast," he says, "a trance upon Adam, and he went to sleep" (Gen. ii. 21). Quite correctly does he use this language. For the mind's trance and change is its sleep, and it falls into a trance when it ceases to be engaged with the objects appropriate to it; and when it is not at work at these, it is sleeping. Rightly also does he say that this change or turning which he undergoes is not of his own motion but of God's; that it is God who "casts it on him," that is, brings and sends it on him. For the case is this. For if the change were in our hands I should have recourse to it, when I wished, and when it was not my deliberate choice I should then continue unturned. But as it is, the change is actually repugnant to me, and many a time when wishing to entertain some fitting thought, I am

τι νοῆσαι ἐπαντλοῦμαι ταῖς παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον
ἐπιρροίαις, καὶ ἔμπαλιν ἔννοιάν τινος λαμβάνων
αἰσχροῦ ποτίμοις ἐννοίαις ἀπερρυψάμην ἐκεῖνο,
θεοῦ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χάριτι γλυκὺ νᾶμα ἀντὶ ἁλμυροῦ
33 ἐπεισχέαντος τῇ ψυχῇ. πᾶν μὲν οὖν τὸ γενητὸν
ἀναγκαῖον τρέπεσθαι, ἴδιον γάρ ἐστι τοῦτο αὐτοῦ,
ὥσπερ θεοῦ τὸ ἄτρεπτον εἶναι· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν
τραπέντες κατέμειναν ἄχρι παντελοῦς φθορᾶς, οἱ
δ' ὅσον μόνον παθεῖν τὸ θνητόν, οὗτοι δ' εὐθὺς
34 ἀνεσώθησαν. διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς φησιν ὅτι "οὐκ |
[73] ἐάσει τὸν ὀλοθρεύοντα εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὰς οἰκίας
ὑμῶν πατάξαι" (Exod. xii. 23)· ἐᾷ μὲν γὰρ τὸν
ὀλοθρεύοντα—ὄλεθρος δὲ ψυχῆς ἐστιν ἡ τροπή—
εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ψυχήν, ἵνα τὸ ἴδιον ἐνδείξηται
τοῦ γενητοῦ· οὐκ ἀφήσει δὲ ὁ θεὸς τὸν τοῦ ὁρῶντος
ἔγγονον Ἰσραὴλ οὕτως τραπῆναι, ὥστε πληγῆναι
ὑπὸ τῆς τροπῆς, ἀλλὰ ἀναδραμεῖν καὶ ἀνακύψαι
ὥσπερ ἐκ βυθοῦ καὶ ἀνασωθῆναι βιάσεται.

35 X. "Ἔλαβε μίαν τῶν πλευρῶν αὐτοῦ" (Gen.
ii. 21). τῶν πολλῶν τοῦ νοῦ δυνάμεων μίαν ἔλαβε
τὴν αἰσθητικήν. τὸ δὲ "ἔλαβεν" οὐκ ἀντὶ τοῦ
ἀφεῖλεν ἀκουστέον, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ κατηρίθμησεν,
ἐξήτασεν, ὡς ἐν ἑτέροις "λάβε τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν
σκύλων τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας" (Num. xxxi. 26).
36 τί οὖν ἐστιν ὃ βούλεται παραστῆσαι; διχῶς
αἴσθησις λέγεται, ἡ μὲν καθ' ἕξιν, ἥτις καὶ κοιμωμένων
ἡμῶν ἐστιν, ἡ δὲ κατ' ἐνέργειαν. τῆς μὲν

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[a] Philo is adapting Plato, *Phaedrus* 243 D ποτίμῳ λόγῳ οἷον ἁλμυρὰν ἀκοὴν ἀποκλύσασθαι.

drenched by a flood of unfitting matters pouring over me ; and conversely when on the point of admitting a conception of something vile, I have washed the vile thing away with wholesome thoughts,[a] God having by His grace poured upon my soul a sweet draught in place of the bitter one. Now every created thing must necessarily undergo change, for this is its property, even as unchangeableness is the property of God. But, while some, after being changed, remain so until they are entirely destroyed, others continue so only so far as to experience that to which all flesh is liable, and these forthwith recover. This is why Moses says, " He will not permit the destroyer to come into your houses to smite you " (Exod. xii. 23) : for He does indeed permit the destroyer—(" destruction " being the change or turning of the soul)—to enter into the soul, that He may make it evident that what is peculiar to created things is there ; but God will not let the offspring of " the seeing " Israel be in such wise changed as to receive his death-blow by the change, but will force him to rise and emerge as though from deep water and recover.

X. " He took one of his sides " (Gen. ii. 21). Of the many faculties of the mind He took one, the faculty of perception. " Took " must not be understood as equivalent to " removed," but as equivalent to " enrolled," " registered," as we find it elsewhere " take the sum of the spoils of the captivity " (Numb. xxxi. 26). What idea is it, then, that he wants to convey ? The word " perception " is used in two ways, first in that of a condition, in which sense it is ours when we are asleep, secondly in the sense of an activity. From perception in the

οὖν προτέρας τῆς καθ' ἕξιν ὄφελος οὐδέν, οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτῇ τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἀντιλαμβανόμεθα, τῆς δὲ δευτέρας τῆς κατ' ἐνέργειαν, διὰ γὰρ ταύτης
37 ποιούμεθα τὰς τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀντιλήψεις. γεννήσας οὖν τὴν προτέραν τὴν καθ' ἕξιν αἴσθησιν, ὅτε καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἐγέννα—σὺν γὰρ πολλαῖς δυνάμεσιν ἠρεμούσαις αὐτὸν κατεσκεύαζε—νῦν βούλεται τὴν κατ' ἐνέργειαν ἀποτελέσαι· ἀποτελεῖται δὲ ἡ κατ' ἐνέργειαν, ὅταν ἡ καθ' ἕξιν κινηθεῖσα ταθῇ μέχρι τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τῶν αἰσθητικῶν ἀγγείων· ὥσπερ γὰρ φύσις ἀποτελεῖται κινηθέντος σπέρματος,
38 οὕτως καὶ ἐνέργεια κινηθείσης ἕξεως. XI. "ἀνεπλήρου δὲ σάρκα ἀντ' αὐτῆς" (Gen. ii. 21), τουτέστι συνεπλήρου τὴν καθ' ἕξιν αἴσθησιν ἄγων εἰς ἐνέργειαν καὶ τείνων αὐτὴν ἄχρι σαρκὸς καὶ τῆς ὅλης ἐπιφανείας. διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει ὅτι "ᾠκοδόμησεν εἰς γυναῖκα" (Gen. ii. 22), διὰ τούτου παριστὰς ὅτι οἰκειότατον καὶ εὐθυβολώτατον ἐστιν ὄνομα αἰσθήσεως γυνή· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ ἐν τῷ δρᾶσαι[1] θεωρεῖται, ἐν δὲ τῷ πάσχειν ἡ γυνή, οὕτως ἐν μὲν τῷ δρᾶν ὁ νοῦς, ἐν δὲ τῷ πάσχειν
39 γυναικὸς τρόπον ἡ αἴσθησις ἐξετάζεται. μαθεῖν δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐναργείας ῥᾴδιον· ἡ ὄψις πάσχει ὑπὸ τῶν κινούντων αὐτὴν ὁρατῶν, τοῦ λευκοῦ, τοῦ μέλανος, τῶν ἄλλων, ἡ ἀκοὴ πάλιν ὑπὸ τῶν φωνῶν καὶ ἡ γεῦσις ὑπὸ τῶν χυλῶν διατίθεται, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀτμῶν ἡ ὄσφρησις, ὑπὸ τραχέος καὶ μαλακοῦ ἡ ἁφή· καὶ ἠρεμοῦσί γε αἱ αἰσθήσεις

[1] ? τῇ δράσει.

former sense, as it is a state, we derive no benefit, for it does not enable us to apprehend the objects about us. It is from the second kind of perception, as an activity, that we get benefit, for our apprehension of the objects of sense-perception is made possible by this. Having, then, brought into being the former sort of perception as a quiescent condition, at the time when He was bringing the mind itself into being—for He made the mind with many faculties lying dormant—now it is His wish to produce perception as an activity. Active perception is brought to pass when quiescent perception has been set in motion and extended to reach the flesh and the perceptive organs. For, just as growth is effected by seed being set in motion, so is activity or actuality by a quiescent condition being set in motion. XI. "And he filled up flesh in its stead" (Gen. ii. 21), that is to say He fulfilled perception that was only a state by leading it on to be an activity, and extending it till it reached the flesh and the whole surface of the body. And so he adds the words, "He built it to be a woman" (Gen. ii. 22), proving by this that the most proper and exact name for sense-perception is "woman." For just as the man shows himself in activity and the woman in passivity, so the province of the mind is activity, and that of the perceptive sense passivity, as in woman. It is easy to learn this from what is before our eyes. Sight is in a passive relation to the objects of sight that set it moving, white, black, and the rest. Hearing, again, is affected by sounds, and the sense of taste by savours, the sense of smell by odours, that of touch by things rough and smooth; and the faculties of perception are all dormant, until

ἅπασαι, μέχρις ἂν προσέλθῃ ἑκάστῃ τὸ κινῆσον
ἔξωθεν.
40 XII. "Καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀδάμ· καὶ
εἶπεν Ἀδάμ Τοῦτο νῦν ὀστοῦν ἐκ τῶν ὀστῶν μου
καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκός μου" (Gen. ii. 22, 23).
τὴν κατ' ἐνέργειαν αἴσθησιν ἄγει ὁ θεὸς πρὸς τὸν
[74] νοῦν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἀνακάμπτειν | δεῖ τὴν κίνησιν
αὐτῆς καὶ ἀντίληψιν ἐπὶ νοῦν. ὁ δὲ θεασάμενος ἣν
πρότερον εἶχε δύναμιν καὶ καθ' ἕξιν ἠρεμοῦσαν
νῦν ἀποτέλεσμα καὶ ἐνέργειαν γεγενημένην καὶ
κινουμένην, θαυμάζει τε καὶ ἀναφθέγγεται φάσκων
ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλοτρία αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ σφόδρα οἰκεία·
41 "τοῦτο," γάρ φησιν "ἐστὶν ὀστοῦν ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν
ὀστῶν," τουτέστι δύναμις ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν δυνάμεων
—ἐπὶ γὰρ δυνάμεως καὶ ἰσχύος νῦν παρείληπται
τὸ ὀστέον—καὶ πάθος ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν παθῶν. "καὶ
σὰρξ" φησίν "ἐκ τῆς σαρκός μου"· πάντα γὰρ
ὅσα πάσχει ἡ αἴσθησις, οὐκ ἄνευ νοῦ ὑπομένει,
πηγὴ γὰρ οὗτός ἐστιν αὐτῇ καὶ θεμέλιος ᾧ ἐπ-
42 ερείδεται. ἄξιον δὲ σκέψασθαι, διὰ τί τὸ "νῦν"
προσετέθη· "τοῦτο" γάρ φησι "νῦν ὀστοῦν ἐκ
τῶν ὀστῶν μου." ἡ αἴσθησις φύσει νῦν ἐστι,
κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα χρόνον ὑφισταμένη μόνον. ὁ
μὲν γὰρ νοῦς τῶν τριῶν ἐφάπτεται χρόνων, καὶ
γὰρ τὰ παρόντα νοεῖ καὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων
43 μέμνηται καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα προσδοκᾷ· ἡ δὲ αἴσθησις
οὔτε μελλόντων ἀντιλαμβάνεται οὐδ' ἀνάλογόν τι
πάσχει προσδοκίᾳ ἢ ἐλπίδι οὔτε παρεληλυθότων
μέμνηται, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ἤδη κινοῦντος καὶ παρόντος
μόνου πάσχειν πέφυκεν, οἷον ὀφθαλμὸς λευκαίνε-

there draws near to each of them from outside that which is to set it in motion.

XII. "And he led her to Adam; and Adam said, This is now bone out of my bones and flesh out of my flesh" (Gen. ii. 22, 23). God leads active perception to the mind, knowing that its movement and apprehensive power must revert to the mind as their starting-point. The mind, on beholding that, which it had before as a potentiality and as a dormant state, now become a finished product, an activity, and in motion, marvels at it, and cries aloud declaring that it is not foreign to it but in the fullest sense its own, for it says, "This is bone out of my bones," that is, power out of my powers, for "bone" is here used as "power and strength", "and feeling out of my feelings"; "and flesh," he says, "out of my flesh"; for not without the mind does the perceptive faculty bear anything that it feels, for the mind is to it a fountain-head and a basis on which it rests. It is worth our while to consider why the word "now" was added: for what he says is, "This is *now* bone out of my bones." Perception by itself is *now*, subsisting only in relation to the present time. For whereas past, present, and future are within the scope of the mind, as it grasps things present, remembers things past, and looks forward to things future, perception, on the other hand, has no power either to reach out to future things by experiencing something corresponding to hope or expectation, nor does it remember things past, but it is so constituted as to be affected only by that which is present and sets it in motion at the moment. For instance, the eye has a sensation of white now under the influence of the

ται νῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ παρόντος λευκοῦ, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ μὴ παρόντος οὐδὲν πάσχει. ὁ δὲ νοῦς καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ παρόντι κινεῖται, παρεληλυθότι μὲν κατὰ μνήμην, μέλλοντι δὲ ἐπελπίζων καὶ προσδοκῶν.

44 XIII. "Ταύτῃ καὶ κληθήσεται γυνή" (Gen. ii. 23), ἀντὶ τοῦ, διὰ τοῦτο ἡ αἴσθησις γυνὴ προσρηθήσεται, "ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς" τοῦ κινοῦντος αὐτὴν "λαμβάνεται αὕτη" φησί. διὰ τί οὖν τὸ "αὕτη" πρόσκειται; ὅτι ἐστὶν ἑτέρα αἴσθησις, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ λαμβανομένη, ἀλλὰ σὺν αὐτῷ γεγενημένη· δύο γάρ, ὡς εἶπον ἤδη, εἰσὶν αἰσθή-
45 σεις, ἡ μὲν καθ' ἕξιν, ἡ δὲ κατ' ἐνέργειαν· ἡ μὲν οὖν καθ' ἕξιν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρός, τουτέστι τοῦ νοῦ, λαμβάνεται, ἀλλὰ σὺν αὐτῷ φύεται· ὁ γὰρ νοῦς, καθάπερ ἐδήλωσα, ὅτε ἐγεννᾶτο, σὺν πολλαῖς δυνάμεσι καὶ ἕξεσιν ἐγεννᾶτο, λογικῇ ψυχικῇ φυτικῇ, ὥστε καὶ αἰσθητικῇ· ἡ δὲ κατ' ἐνέργειαν ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ· ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἐν νῷ καθ' ἕξιν οὔσης αἰσθήσεως ἐτάθη, ἵνα γένηται κατ' ἐνέργειαν, ὥστε ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νοῦ γεγενῆσθαι τὴν δευτέραν
46 καὶ κατὰ κίνησιν. μάταιος δὲ ὁ νομίζων πρὸς τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ τι συνόλως γεννᾶσθαι ἢ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ. οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ τῇ ἐπὶ τῶν εἰδώλων καθεζομένῃ αἰσθήσει τῇ Ῥαχὴλ νομιζούσῃ ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ τὰ κινήματα εἶναι ἐπιπλήττει ὁ
[75] βλέπων; ἡ | μὲν γάρ φησι· "δός μοι τέκνα, εἰ δὲ μή, τελευτήσω ἐγώ" (Gen. xxx. 1)· ὁ δὲ

[a] See App. p. 480.
[b] LXX. εἴδωλα, E.V. 'teraphim.'

white that is present, but from that which is not present it feels no effect. The mind, on the contrary, is set in motion by occasion of that which is not present as well, if past, by way of memory, if future, by building hopes and expectations on it.

XIII. "To this one shall be given the title[a] 'woman'" (Gen. ii. 23), as much as to say, for this cause shall perception be called "woman" because out of man that sets it in motion "this one is taken." Why, then is "this one" put in? Because there is another perception, not taken from the mind, but brought into being together with it. For there are, as I have said already, two perceptions, one existing as quiescent condition, the other as activity. The one, then, that exists as quiescent condition, is not taken out of the man, that is to say the mind, but comes into being with it. For the mind, as I have pointed out, when it came into existence, came into existence in association with many potentialities and conditions, those of reason, animal life, and growth, and so with that of perception also. But the one that exists as an activity comes out of the mind. For it was extended out of the perception which is in the mind as a condition, that it might come to be an activity. Thus the second one, the one that is characterized by movement, has been produced out of the mind itself. But he is a shallow thinker who supposes that in strict truth anything whatever derives its birth from the mind or from himself. Do you not see that perception in the person of Rachel[a] who sits upon the teraphim,[b] is rebuked by "the seeing one," when she imagines that movements have their source in mind? For she says, "Give me children; if you do not, I shall die" (Gen.

ἀποκρίνεται ὅτι, ὦ ψευδοδοξοῦσα, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ νοῦς αἴτιον οὐδενός, ἀλλ' ὁ πρὸ τοῦ νοῦ θεός· διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει· "μὴ ἀντὶ θεοῦ ἐγώ εἰμι, ὃς ἐστέρησέ
47 σε καρπὸν κοιλίας" (ib. 2); ὅτι δὲ ὁ γεννῶν ὁ θεός ἐστι, μαρτυρήσει ἐπὶ τῆς Λείας, ὅταν φῇ· "ἰδὼν δὲ κύριος ὅτι μισεῖται Λεία, ἤνοιξε τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς, Ῥαχὴλ δὲ ἦν στεῖρα" (Gen. xxix. 31). ἀνδρὸς δὲ ἴδιον τὸ μήτραν ἀνοιγνύναι. φύσει δὲ μισεῖται παρὰ τῷ θνητῷ <γένει> ἡ ἀρετή, διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὴν τετίμηκε καὶ παρέχει
48 τὰ πρωτοτόκια τῇ μισουμένῃ. λέγει δ' ἐν ἑτέροις· "ἐὰν δὲ γένωνται ἀνθρώπῳ δύο γυναῖκες, μία αὐτῶν ἠγαπημένη καὶ μία αὐτῶν μισουμένη, καὶ τέκωσιν αὐτῷ καὶ γένηται υἱὸς πρωτότοκος τῆς μισουμένης, . . . οὐ δυνήσεται πρωτοτοκεῦσαι τῷ υἱῷ τῆς ἠγαπημένης, ὑπεριδὼν τὸν υἱὸν τῆς μισουμένης τὸν πρωτότοκον" (Deut. xxi. 15, 16)· πρώτιστα γάρ ἐστι καὶ τελειότατα τὰ τῆς μισουμένης ἀρετῆς γεννήματα, τὰ δὲ τῆς ἀγαπωμένης ἡδονῆς ἔσχατα.

49 XIV. "Ἕνεκα τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν" (Gen. ii. 24). ἕνεκα τῆς αἰσθήσεως ὁ νοῦς, ὅταν αὐτῇ δουλωθῇ, καταλείπει καὶ τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὅλων θεὸν καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῶν συμπάντων, τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ σοφίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ προσκολλᾶται καὶ ἑνοῦται τῇ αἰσθήσει καὶ ἀναλύεται εἰς αἴσθησιν, ἵνα γένωνται μία σὰρξ καὶ
50 ἓν πάθος οἱ δύο. παρατήρει δ' ὅτι οὐχ ἡ γυνὴ

xxx. 1); but he answers, "O woman, full of false fancies, the mind is the origin of nothing, but God who is antecedent to the mind is the only cause"; and so he adds, "Am I in the place of God who deprived thee of the fruit of the womb?" (*ibid.* 2). But that it is God who brings about birth, Scripture will give evidence in the case of Leah, when it says, "And the Lord seeing that Leah was hated opened her womb, but Rachel was barren" (Gen. xxix. 31). The opening of the womb is man's proper function. But mortal kind is prone of itself to hate virtue, and accordingly God has bestowed honour upon it and vouchsafes to her that is hated to bear the first-born. He says elsewhere, "If a man have two wives, one of them beloved and one of them hated, and they shall bear children to him and the first-born son be the son of the hated wife . . . he shall not be able to give the right of the first-born to the son of the beloved wife, overlooking the son of the hated one who is the first-born" (Deut. xxi. 15, 16): for first of all and most perfect of all are the offspring of the hated virtue, while the offspring of the well-loved pleasure are last of all.

XIV. "For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and the twain shall be one flesh" (Gen. ii. 24). For the sake of sense-perception the Mind, when it has become her slave, abandons both God the Father of the universe, and God's excellence and wisdom, the Mother of all things, and cleaves to and becomes one with sense-perception and is resolved into sense-perception so that the two become one flesh and one experience. Observe that it is not the woman that cleaves to the man,

κολλᾶται τῷ ἀνδρί, ἀλλ' ἔμπαλιν ὁ ἀνὴρ τῇ γυναικί, ὁ νοῦς τῇ αἰσθήσει· ὅταν γὰρ τὸ κρεῖττον ὁ νοῦς ἑνωθῇ τῷ χείρονι τῇ αἰσθήσει, ἀναλύεται εἰς τὸ χεῖρον τὸ σαρκὸς γένος, τὴν παθῶν αἰτίαν αἴσθησιν· ὅταν δὲ τὸ χεῖρον ἡ αἴσθησις ἀκολουθήσῃ τῷ κρείττονι τῷ νῷ, οὐκέτι ἔσται σάρξ, ἀλλὰ ἀμφότερα νοῦς. οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτος, τὸ φιλο-
51 παθὲς προκρίνων τοῦ φιλοθέου. ἔστι δέ τις ἕτερος τοὐναντίον ᾑρημένος ὁ Λευὶ ὁ "λέγων τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρί Οὐχ ἑώρακά σε, καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς οὐκ ἐπέγνω, καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀπέγνω" (Deut. xxxiii. 9)· πατέρα καὶ μητέρα οὗτος ⌜τε⌝, τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὕλην, καταλείπει ὑπὲρ τοῦ κλῆρον ἔχειν τὸν ἕνα θεόν, "κύριος γὰρ αὐτὸς
52 κλῆρος αὐτῷ" (Deut. x. 9). γίνεται δὴ τοῦ μὲν φιλοπαθοῦς κλῆρος τὸ πάθος, τοῦ δὲ <φιλοθέου> τοῦ Λευὶ κλῆρος ὁ θεός. οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ τῇ δεκάτῃ τοῦ <ἑβδόμου> μηνὸς κελεύει δύο τράγους [κλῆρον] προσάγειν, "κλῆρον ἕνα τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ κλῆρον ἕνα τῷ ἀποπομπαίῳ" (Lev. xvi. 8); τοῦ γὰρ φιλοπαθοῦς ἐστι κλῆρος ὄντως τὸ ἀποπόμπιμον πάθος.

53 XV. "Καὶ ἦσαν οἱ δύο γυμνοί, ὅ τε Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ᾐσχύνοντο. Ὁ δὲ ὄφις ἦν φρονιμώτατος πάντων τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς
[76] γῆς, ὧν | ἐποίησε κύριος ὁ θεός" (Gen. ii. 25, iii. 1). γυμνός ἐστιν ὁ νοῦς ὁ μήτε κακίᾳ μήτε ἀρετῇ ἀμπεχόμενος, ἀλλ' ἑκατέρου γεγυμνωμένος ὄντως, οἷον ἡ τοῦ νηπίου παιδὸς ψυχὴ ἀμέτοχος οὖσα ἑκατέρου, ἀγαθοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ, ἀπημφίασται

but conversely the man to the woman, Mind to Sense-perception. For when that which is superior, namely Mind, becomes one with that which is inferior, namely Sense-perception, it resolves itself into the order of flesh which is inferior, into sense-perception, the moving cause of the passions. But if Sense the inferior follow Mind the superior, there will be flesh no more, but both of them will be Mind. The man, then, of whom the prophet speaks is such as has been described; he prefers the love of his passions to the love of God. But there is a different man, one who has made the contrary choice, even Levi, who "said to his father and his mother 'I have not seen thee,' and knew not his brethren, and disclaimed his sons" (Deut. xxxiii. 9). This man forsakes father and mother, his mind and material body, for the sake of having as his portion the one God, "for the Lord Himself is his portion" (Deut. x. 9). Passion becomes the portion of the lover of passion, but the portion of Levi the lover of God is God. Do you not see again that he prescribes that on the tenth day of the seventh month they should bring two goats, "one portion for the Lord and one for the averter of evil"? (Lev. xvi. 8). For in very deed the portion of the lover of passion is a passion that needs an averter.

XV. "And the two were naked, Adam and his wife, and were not ashamed." "Now the serpent was the most subtil of all the beasts that were upon the earth, which the Lord God had made" (Gen. ii. 25, iii. 1). The mind that is clothed neither in vice nor in virtue, but absolutely stripped of either, is naked, just as the soul of an infant, since it is without part in either good or evil, is bared and

τὰ καλύμματα καὶ γεγύμνωται· ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν ἐσθήματα ψυχῆς, οἷς σκεπάζεται καὶ συγκρύπτεται, τῆς μὲν σπουδαίας τὸ ἀγαθόν, τῆς δὲ
54 φαύλης τὸ κακόν. τριχῶς δὲ ⌊καὶ⌋ ψυχὴ γυμνοῦται· ἅπαξ μὲν ὅτε ἄτρεπτος διατελεῖ καὶ πασῶν μὲν ἠρήμωται κακιῶν, πάντα δὲ τὰ πάθη ἀπημφίασται καὶ ἀποβέβληκε. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ "Μωυσῆς ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς πήγνυσι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνήν, μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς παρεμβολῆς, καὶ ἐκλήθη σκηνὴ
55 μαρτυρίου" (Exod. xxxiii. 7). τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον· ἡ φιλόθεος ψυχὴ ἐκδῦσα τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰ τούτῳ φίλα καὶ μακρὰν ἔξω φυγοῦσα ἀπὸ τούτων πῆξιν καὶ βεβαίωσιν καὶ ἵδρυσιν ἐν τοῖς τελείοις ἀρετῆς δόγμασι λαμβάνει· διὸ καὶ μαρτυρεῖται ὑπὸ θεοῦ, ὅτι καλῶν ἐρᾷ, "ἐκλήθη γὰρ σκηνὴ μαρτυρίου" φησί· καὶ τὸν καλοῦντα παρεσιώπησεν, ἵνα συγκινηθεῖσα ἡ ψυχὴ σκέψηται, τίς ὁ μαρτυρῶν ταῖς φιλαρέτοις διανοίαις ἐστί.
56 τούτου χάριν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται ἐν τῷ ποδήρει (cf. Lev. xvi. 1 ss.), ἀλλὰ τὸν τῆς δόξης καὶ φαντασίας ψυχῆς χιτῶνα ἀποδυσάμενος καὶ καταλιπὼν τοῖς τὰ ἐκτὸς ἀγαπῶσι καὶ δόξαν πρὸ ἀληθείας τετιμηκόσι γυμνὸς ἄνευ χρωμάτων καὶ ἤχων εἰσελεύσεται σπεῖσαι τὸ ψυχικὸν αἷμα καὶ θυμιᾶσαι ὅλον τὸν
57 νοῦν τῷ σωτῆρι καὶ εὐεργέτῃ θεῷ. καὶ μὲν δὴ Ναδὰβ καὶ Ἀβιοὺδ (cf. Lev. x. 1) οἱ ἐγγίσαντες θεῷ καὶ τὸν μὲν θνητὸν βίον καταλιπόντες, τοῦ δ' ἀθανάτου μεταλαχόντες, γυμνοὶ θεωροῦνται τῆς κενῆς καὶ θνητῆς δόξης· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐν τοῖς χιτῶσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ κομίζοντες ἔφερον

stripped of coverings: for these are the soul's clothes, by which it is sheltered and concealed. Goodness is the garment of the worthy soul, evil that of the worthless. Now there are three ways in which a soul is made naked. One is when it continues without change and is barren of all vices, and has divested itself of all the passions and flung them away. For this reason "Moses fixes his tent outside the camp, a long way from the camp, and it was called the tent of testimony" (Exod. xxxiii. 7).

What this means is this. The soul that loves God, having disrobed itself of the body and the objects dear to the body and fled abroad far away from these, gains a fixed and assured settlement in the perfect ordinances of virtue. Wherefore witness is also borne to it by God that it loves things that are noble; "for," says he, "it was called the tent of witness." He leaves unmentioned who it is that calls it so, in order that the soul may be stirred up to consider who it is that bears witness to virtue-loving minds. This is why the high priest shall not enter the Holy of Holies in his robe (Lev. xvi. 1 ff.), but laying aside the garment of opinions and impressions of the soul, and leaving it behind for those that love outward things and value semblance above reality, shall enter naked with no coloured borders or sound of bells, to pour as a libation the blood of the soul and to offer as incense the whole mind to God our Saviour and Benefactor.

Nadab and Abihu, too, who had drawn nigh to God and had forsaken the mortal life and become partakers of the life immortal are beheld naked of vain and mortal glory. For those who carried them away would not have borne them in their

(Lev. x. 5), εἰ μὴ γεγύμνωντο πάντα δεσμὸν πάθους καὶ σωματικῆς ἀνάγκης διαρρήξαντες, ἵνα μὴ ἡ γύμνωσις αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσωματότης ἀθέων ἐπεισόδῳ λογισμῶν κιβδηλευθῇ· οὐ γὰρ πᾶσιν ἐπιτρεπτέον τὰ θεοῦ καθορᾶν ἀπόρρητα, ἀλλὰ μόνοις τοῖς
58 δυναμένοις αὐτὰ περιστέλλειν καὶ φυλάττειν. διὸ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Μισαδαὶ οὐχὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις χιτῶσιν αἴρουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῶν ἐκπυρωθέντων καὶ ἀναληφθέντων Ναδὰβ καὶ Ἀβιούδ· ἀποδυσάμενοι γὰρ τὰ ἐπικαλύπτοντα πάντα τὴν μὲν γύμνωσιν τῷ
[77] θεῷ | προσήνεγκαν, τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας τοῖς περὶ Μισαδαὶ κατέλιπον· χιτῶνες δ' εἰσὶ τὰ μέρη τοῦ ἀλόγου, ἃ τὸ λογικὸν ἐπεσκίαζε. καὶ Ἀβραὰμ
59 γυμνοῦται, ὅταν ἀκούσῃ· "ἔξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου" (Gen. xii. 1). καὶ ὁ Ἰσαὰκ οὐ γυμνοῦται μέν, ἀεὶ δὲ γυμνός ἐστι καὶ ἀσώματος· πρόσταγμα γὰρ αὐτῷ δέδοται, μὴ καταβῆναι εἰς Αἴγυπτον (Gen. xxvi. 2), τουτέστι τὸ σῶμα. καὶ Ἰακὼβ γυμνότητος ἐρᾷ ψυχικῆς—ἡ γὰρ λειότης αὐτοῦ γύμνωσίς ἐστιν—· ἦν γὰρ Ἠσαῦ ἀνὴρ δασύς, Ἰακὼβ δέ, φησίν, ἀνὴρ λεῖος (Gen. xxvii. 11), παρὸ καὶ τῆς Λείας ἀνήρ ἐστι.

60 XVI. Μία μὲν ἀρίστη γύμνωσίς ἐστιν αὕτη, ἡ δ' ἑτέρα ἐστὶν ἐναντία, ἀρετῆς ἀφαίρεσις ἐκ τροπῆς γινομένη, ὅταν ληραίνῃ καὶ παρανοῇ ἡ ψυχή. ταύτῃ χρῆται ὁ Νῶε γυμνούμενος, ὅταν πίῃ τοῦ οἴνου· χάρις δὲ τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι ἡ τροπὴ καὶ ἡ γύμνωσις τοῦ νοῦ κατ' ἀρετῆς ἀφαίρεσιν οὐκ

[a] The Greek for 'Leah' (Λεία) is the feminine of λεῖος, 'smooth.'

coats (Lev. x. 5), had they not become naked by bursting every bond of passion and of bodily constraint, in order that their nakedness and freedom from the body should not be debased by the irruption of impious thoughts. For not to all must leave be given to contemplate the secret things of God, but only to those who are able to hide and guard them. And so Mishael and Elzaphan do not take them up in their own coats, but in those of Nadab and Abihu, who had been devoured by fire and been taken up (into heaven). For having stripped themselves of all that covered them, they offered their nakedness to God, but their coats they left behind for Mishael and Elzaphan. Now coats are those parts of the irrational by which the rational was hidden. Abraham too becomes naked when the words have been spoken to him, "Go forth out of thy country and thy kindred" (Gen. xii. 1). Isaac also does not indeed become naked, but is always naked and without body, for an injunction has been given him not to go down into Egypt (Gen. xxvi. 2), and "Egypt" is the body. Jacob, again, loves nakedness of the soul, for his smoothness signifies nakedness. "For Esau," we read, "was a hairy man, but Jacob a smooth man" (Gen. xxvii. 11), and accordingly he has "Leah"[a] as wife.

XVI. This is one form, the noblest form, of stripping or becoming naked. The other is of a contrary nature, a deprivation of virtue due to a turning or change of condition, when the soul becomes foolish and deranged. This kind of stripping is experienced by Noah, who is made naked when he has drunk wine. But, thanks be to God, the change of condition and the stripping of the mind

ἄχρι τῶν ἐκτὸς ἐχύθη, ἀλλ' ἔμεινεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ· φησὶ γὰρ ὅτι "ἐγυμνώθη ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ" (Gen. ix. 21)· κἂν γὰρ ἁμάρτῃ ὁ σοφός, οὐχ οὕτως ἐξώκειλεν ὡς ὁ φαῦλος, τοῦ μὲν γὰρ κέχυται ἡ κακία, τοῦ δὲ συνέσταλται· διὸ καὶ ἀνανήφει, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ μετανοεῖ καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκ νόσου
61 ἀναλαμβάνει. ἀκριβέστερον δὲ τὸ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ γίνεσθαι τὴν γύμνωσιν θεασώμεθα· ἐπειδὰν ἡ ψυχὴ τραπεῖσα μόνον ἐννοηθῇ τι τῶν ἀτόπων καὶ μὴ ἐπεξέλθῃ, ὥστε αὐτὸ ἔργῳ τελειῶσαι, ἐν τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς χωρίῳ καὶ οἴκῳ γέγονε τὸ ἁμάρτημα· ἐὰν δὲ πρὸς τῷ μοχθηρόν τι λογίσασθαι καὶ ἐπανύσηται, ὥστε ἐργάσασθαι, κέχυται
62 καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐκτὸς τὸ ἀδίκημα. παρὸ καὶ τῷ Χαναὰν καταρᾶται, ὅτι τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς τροπὴν ἔξω ἀπήγγειλε, τουτέστι καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐκτὸς ἔτεινε καὶ ἐπεξειργάσατο προσθεὶς τῷ κακῷ βουλήματι κακὸν τὸ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἀποτέλεσμα· Σὴμ δὲ καὶ Ἰάφεθ ἐπαινοῦνται μὴ ἐπιθέμενοι τῇ ψυχῇ,
63 ἀλλὰ τὴν τροπὴν αὐτῆς περικαλύψαντες. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ αἱ εὐχαὶ καὶ οἱ ὁρισμοὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιλύονται, ὅταν ἐν οἴκῳ γένωνται πατρὸς ἢ ἀνδρός (Num. xxx. 4 ff.), μὴ ἡσυχαζόντων τῶν λογισμῶν μηδὲ ἐπιτιθεμένων τῇ τροπῇ, ἀλλὰ περιαιρούντων τὸ ἁμάρτημα· τότε γὰρ καὶ ὁ δεσπότης ἁπάντων "καθαριεῖ αὐτήν." εὐχὴν δὲ χήρας καὶ ἐκβεβλημένης ἀναφαίρετον ἐᾷ· "ὅσα γὰρ ἂν εὔξηται" φησί "κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς,

[a] See App. pp. 480, 481.

which ensued upon the deprivation of virtue, did not spread out abroad and reach those outside, but stayed in the house, for what is said is "he was made naked in his house" (Gen. ix. 21): for the wise man, if he do commit sin, does not run riot, as does the bad man. The evil of the one has been spread forth; that of the other has been held in check; so he becomes sober again, that is to say, he repents and recovers as from an illness.

Let us contemplate more in detail the fact that the stripping takes place in the house. When the soul in its perversion only purposes some outrage, but does not follow it up so as to complete it in action, the sin has been committed in the soul's abode and house. But if, in addition to designing the bad deed, it goes on to carry out its design and do the thing, the unrighteous act has been spread out of doors as well. It is in accordance with this that a curse is pronounced on Canaan, because he reported abroad the change of the soul. This means that he gave it fuller scope and wrought it out further, adding a further evil to the evil wish, even its accomplishment by deeds. Shem and Japhet on the other hand receive praise for not joining in the soul's act but covering over its sad change. For this reason also the vows and determinations of the soul are annulled, when they have been made in the house of father or husband (Numb. xxx. 4 ff.[a]), if the reason and reflection do not hold their peace and so add their weight to the soul's failure, but remove the offence; for in that case the Lord of all also "shall cleanse her." But he leaves with no removal the vow of a widow or of her that is cast off: "for whatever vows she shall have vowed,"

μένει αὐτῇ" (Num. xxx. 10)· κατὰ λόγον· εἰ γὰρ ἄχρι τῶν ἐκτὸς ἐκβληθεῖσα προελήλυθεν, ὡς μὴ τρέπεσθαι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἁμαρτάνειν, ἀθεράπευτος μένει ἀνδρείου τε λόγου μὴ μετασχοῦσα καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς παρηγορίας στερηθεῖσα.

64 Τρίτη γύμνωσίς ἐστιν ἡ μέση, καθ' ἣν ὁ νοῦς ἄλογός ἐστι μήτε ἀρετῆς πω μήτε κακίας μετέχων. περὶ ταύτης ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος, ἧς καὶ ὁ νήπιος [78] κοινωνεῖ, ὥστε | τὸ λεγόμενον "ἦσαν οἱ δύο γυμνοί, ὅ τε Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ" τοιοῦτον εἶναι· οὔτε ὁ νοῦς ἐνόει οὔτε ἡ αἴσθησις ᾐσθάνετο, ἀλλ' ἦν ὁ μὲν τοῦ νοεῖν ἔρημός τε καὶ γυμνός, ἡ
65 δὲ τοῦ αἰσθάνεσθαι. XVII. τὸ δὲ "οὐκ ᾐσχύνοντο" πάλιν ἴδωμεν. τρία κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἐστίν· ἀναισχυντία, αἰδώς, τὸ μήτε ἀναισχυντεῖν μήτε αἰδεῖσθαι· ἀναισχυντία μὲν οὖν ἴδιον φαύλου, αἰδὼς δὲ σπουδαίου, τὸ δὲ μήτε αἰδεῖσθαι μήτε ἀναισχυντεῖν τοῦ ἀκαταλήπτως ἔχοντος καὶ ἀσυγκαταθέτως, περὶ οὗ νῦν ἐστιν ὁ λόγος· ὁ γὰρ μηδέπω κατάληψιν ἀγαθοῦ ἢ κακοῦ λαβὼν οὔτε
66 ἀναισχυντεῖν οὔτε αἰδεῖσθαι δύναται. τῆς μὲν οὖν ἀναισχυντίας παραδείγματα αἱ ἀσχημοσύναι πᾶσαι, ὅταν ὁ νοῦς ἀποκαλύπτῃ τὰ αἰσχρά, συσκιάζειν δέον, ἐπαυχῶν καὶ σεμνυνόμενος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. λέγεται καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Μαριάμ, ὅτε κατελάλει Μωυσῆ· "εἰ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς πτύων ἐνέπτυσεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς, οὐκ ἐντραπήσεται ἑπτὰ

[a] See App. p. 481.

he says, " against her soul, abide for her " (Numb. xxx. 10). And this is reasonable. For if she has been cast off and gone forth to the parts outside, not turning merely but sinning by overt deeds, she abides incurable with no part in a husband's admonition and deprived of her father's persuasion.

A third form of producing nakedness is the middle or neutral one. Here the mind is irrational and has no part as yet either in virtue or in vice. It is of this form that the prophet is speaking. In this the infant too is partaker. Accordingly the words, " The two were naked, both Adam and his wife," amount to this: neither mind nor sense was performing its functions, the one being bare and barren of mental action and the other of the activity of sense-perception. XVII. Let us look again at the words, " they were not ashamed." [a] The words suggest three points for consideration: shamelessness, and shamefastness, and absence of both shamelessness and shamefastness. Shamelessness, then, is peculiar to the worthless man, shamefastness to the man of worth, to feel neither shamefastness nor shamelessness to the man who is incapable of right apprehension and of due assent thereto, and this man is at this moment the prophet's subject. For he who has not yet attained to the apprehension of good and evil cannot possibly be either shameless or shamefast. Examples of shamelessness are all those unseemly actions, when the mind uncovers shameful things which it ought to hide from view, and vaunts itself in them and prides itself on them. Even in the case of Miriam, when she spoke against Moses, it is said, " If her father had but spat in her face, should she not feel shame seven days ? "

67 ἡμέρας;" (Num. xii. 14) ὄντως γὰρ ἀναίσχυντος
καὶ θρασεῖα ἡ αἴσθησις, ἣ ἐξουθενηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ
θεοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς παρὰ τὸν πιστὸν ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ
οἴκῳ (ib. 7), ᾧ τὴν Αἰθιόπισσαν, τὴν ἀμετάβλη-
τον καὶ κατακορῆ γνώμην, αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡρμόσατο,
τολμᾷ καταλαλεῖν Μωυσῇ καὶ κατηγορεῖν, ἐφ'
ᾧ ὤφειλεν ἐπαινεῖσθαι (ib. 1)· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν
ἐγκώμιον αὐτοῦ μέγιστον, ὅτι τὴν Αἰθιόπισσαν
ἔλαβε, τὴν ἄτρεπτον καὶ πεπυρωμένην καὶ δόκιμον
φύσιν· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ τὸ βλέπον μέλαν
ἐστίν, οὕτως τὸ ὁρατικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς Αἰθιόπισσα
68 κέκληται. διὰ τί οὖν, πολλῶν ὄντων
κακίας ἔργων, ἑνὸς μόνου μέμνηται τοῦ κατὰ τὸ
αἰσχρὸν εἰπὼν "οὐκ ᾐσχύνοντο," ἀλλ' <οὐκ> οὐκ
ἠδίκουν ἢ οὐχ ἡμάρτανον ἢ οὐκ ἐπλημμέλουν;
παράκειται δὲ ἡ αἰτία. μὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ μόνον θεὸν
οὐδὲν οὕτως αἰσχρὸν ἡγοῦμαι ὡς τὸ ὑπολαμβάνειν
69 ὅτι νοῶ ἢ ὅτι αἰσθάνομαι. ὁ ἐμὸς νοῦς αἴτιος
τοῦ νοεῖν; πόθεν; ἑαυτὸν γὰρ οἶδεν, ὅστις ὢν
τυγχάνει ἢ πῶς ἐγένετο; ἡ δὲ αἴσθησις αἰτία
τοῦ αἰσθάνεσθαι; πῶς ἂν λέγοιτο, μήθ' ὑφ' αὑτῆς
μήτε ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ γνωριζομένη; οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι
ὁ δοκῶν νοεῖν νοῦς εὑρίσκεται πολλάκις ἄνους, ἐν
τοῖς κόροις, ἐν ταῖς μέθαις, ἐν ταῖς παραφροσύναις;
ποῦ δὴ τὸ νοεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῶν; ἡ δὲ αἴσθησις οὐ
πολλάκις ἀφαιρεῖται τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι; ὁρῶντες
ἔστιν ὅτε οὐχ ὁρῶμεν καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκούομεν,

[a] See App. p. 481.

(Numb. xii. 14). For veritably shameless and bold was sense-perception in daring to decry and find fault with Moses for that for which he deserved praise. In comparison with him, who was "faithful in all God's house" (*ibid.*), sense-perception was set at naught by the God and Father; and it was God Himself who wedded to Moses the Ethiopian woman, who stands for resolve unalterable, intense, and fixed.[a] For this Moses merits high eulogy, that he took to him the Ethiopian woman, even the nature that has been tried by fire and cannot be changed. For, even as in the eye the part that sees is black, so the soul's power of vision has the title of woman of Ethiopia.[a] Why then, seeing that results of wickedness are many, has he mentioned only one, that which attends on conduct that is disgraceful, saying "they were not shamed," but not saying "they did not commit injustice," or "they did not sin," or "they did not err"? The reason is not far to seek. By the only true God I deem nothing so shameful as supposing that I exert my mind and senses. My own mind the author of its exertion? How can it be? Does it know as to itself, what it is or how it came into existence? Sense-perception the origin of the perceiving by sense? How could it be said to be so, seeing that it is beyond the ken either of itself or of the mind? Do you not observe that the mind which thinks that it exercises itself is often found to be without mental power, in scenes of gluttony, drunkenness, folly? Where does the exercise of mind show itself then? And is not perceptive sense often robbed of the power of perceiving? There are times when seeing we see not and hearing

ἐπειδὰν ὁ νοῦς μικρὸν ὅσον ἑτέρῳ νοητῷ προσ-
70 ενεχθῇ παρενθυμούμενος. ἕως οὖν γυμνοί εἰσιν,
ὁ μὲν νοῦς τοῦ νοεῖν, ἡ δὲ αἴσθησις τοῦ αἰσθάνεσθαι,
[79] οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν αἰσχρόν· ἐπειδὰν δὲ | ἄρξωνται
καταλαμβάνειν, ἐν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ ὕβρει γίνονται,
εὑρεθήσονται γὰρ εὐηθείᾳ καὶ μωρίᾳ πολλάκις
χρώμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑγιαινούσῃ ἐπιστήμῃ, οὐ
μόνον ἐν κόροις καὶ μελαγχολίαις καὶ παρα-
φροσύναις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ βίῳ· ὅτε μὲν γὰρ
ἡ αἴσθησις κρατεῖ, ὁ νοῦς ἠνδραπόδισται μηδενὶ
προσέχων νοητῷ, ὅτε δὲ ὁ νοῦς κρατεῖ, ἡ αἴσθησις
ἄπρακτος θεωρεῖται μηδενὸς ἀντίληψιν ἴσχουσα
αἰσθητοῦ.

71 XVIII. "Ὁ δὲ ὄφις ἦν φρονιμώτατος πάντων
τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὧν ἐποίησε κύριος
ὁ θεός" (Gen. iii. 1). δυεῖν προγεγονότων νοῦ
καὶ αἰσθήσεως καὶ τούτων γυμνῶν κατὰ τὸν
δεδηλωμένον τρόπον ὑπαρχόντων, ἀνάγκη τρίτην
ἡδονὴν συναγωγὸν ἀμφοῖν ὑπάρξαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν
νοητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν ἀντίληψιν· οὔτε γὰρ ὁ νοῦς
δίχα αἰσθήσεως ἠδύνατο καταλαβεῖν ζῷον ἢ
φυτὸν ἢ λίθον ἢ ξύλον ἢ συνόλως σῶμα οὔτε ἡ
αἴσθησις δίχα τοῦ νοῦ περιποιῆσαι τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι.
72 ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἄμφω ταῦτα συνελθεῖν ἔδει πρὸς
κατάληψιν τῶν ὑποκειμένων, τίς αὐτὰ συνήγαγεν
ὅτι μὴ δεσμὸς τρίτος ἔρωτος καὶ ἐπιθυμίας,
ἀρχούσης καὶ δυναστευούσης ἡδονῆς, ἣν συμ-

hear not, whenever the mind, breaking off its attention for a moment, is brought to bear on some other mental object. So long then as they are naked, the mind without self-exertion, the perceptive sense without perceiving, they have nothing shameful: but when they have begun to apprehend, they fall into shameful and wanton conduct, for they will be found often showing silliness and folly rather than healthy knowledge, not only in times of loathsome surfeit and depression and mad fooling but also in the rest of their life. For when bodily sense is in command, the mind is in a state of slavery heeding none of its proper objects; but when the mind is in the ascendant, the bodily sense is seen to have nothing to do and to be powerless to lay hold of any object of sense-perception.

XVIII. "Now the serpent was the most subtle of all the beasts on the earth, which the Lord God had made" (Gen. iii. 1). Two things, mind and bodily sense, having already come into being, and these being in nakedness after the manner that has been set forth, it was necessary that there should be a third subsistence, namely pleasure, to bring both of them together to the apprehension of the objects of mental and of bodily perception. For neither could the mind apart from bodily sense apprehend an animal or a plant or a stone or a log or any bodily shape whatever, nor could the bodily sense apart from the mind maintain the act of perceiving. Since then it was necessary that both of these should come together for the apprehension of the objects about them, who was it that brought them together save a third, a bond of love and desire, under the rule and dominion of pleasure, to which

73 βολικῶς ὄφιν ὠνόμασε; πάνυ καλῶς ὁ ζῳοπλάστης θεὸς ἐδημιούργησε τὴν τάξιν· νοῦν πρῶτον τὸν ἄνδρα, πρεσβύτατον γὰρ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ, εἶτα αἴσθησιν τὴν γυναῖκα, εἶτα ἑξῆς τρίτον ἡδονήν. δυνάμει δέ εἰσιν αὐτῶν αἱ ἡλικίαι διάφοροι νοούμεναι μόνον, χρόνῳ δὲ ἰσήλικες· ἅμα γὰρ ἑαυτῇ ψυχὴ πάντα ἐπιφέρεται, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐντελεχείᾳ, τὰ δὲ τῷ δύνασθαι γενέσθαι, εἰ καὶ μήπω προσείληφε
74 τὸ τέλος. εἰκάσθη δὲ ὄφει ἡδονὴ διὰ τόδε· πολύπλοκος γὰρ καὶ ποικίλη ὥσπερ τοῦ ὄφεως ἡ κίνησις, οὕτως καὶ ἡδονῆς· πενταχῇ γέ τοι πρῶτον εἱλεῖται, καὶ γὰρ δι' ὁράσεως ἡδοναὶ συνίστανται καὶ δι' ἀκοῆς καὶ διὰ γεύσεως καὶ διὰ ὀσφρήσεως καὶ δι' ἁφῆς· γίνονται δὲ αἱ σφοδρόταται καὶ σύντονοι αἱ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὁμιλίαι, δι' ὧν γένεσις ἡ τοῦ ὁμοίου πέφυκεν ἀποτελεῖσθαι.

75 Καὶ μὴν οὐ διὰ τοῦτο μόνον ποικίλην φαμὲν τὴν ἡδονήν, ὅτι περὶ πάντα τὰ τοῦ ἀλόγου τῆς ψυχῆς εἱλεῖται, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ περὶ ἕκαστον μέρος πολύπλοκός ἐστιν· εὐθέως δι' ὁράσεως ἡδοναὶ γίνονται ποικίλαι, γραφικὴ πᾶσα, πλαστική, τἆλλα ὅσα κατὰ τέχνας τεχνικὰ δημιουργήματα τέρπει τὴν ὅρασιν· πάλιν φυτῶν βλαστανόντων ἀνθούντων καρποτοκούντων διαφοραί, ζῴων εὐμορφίαι πολυσχιδεῖς· ὁμοίως τὴν ἀκοὴν αὐλὸς ἡδύνει, κιθάρα,
[80] πᾶσα ὀργάνων ἰδέα, | ζῴων ἀλόγων ἐμμελεῖς

the prophet gave the figurative name of a serpent? Exceeding well did God the Framer of living beings contrive the order in which they were created. First He made mind, the man, for mind is most venerable in a human being, then bodily sense, the woman, then after them in the third place pleasure. But it is potentially only, as objects of thought, that they differ in age; but in actual time they are equal in age. For the soul brings all together with herself, some parts in virtue of actual existence, others in virtue of the potentiality to arrive, even if they have not yet reached their consummation. The reason pleasure is likened to a serpent is this. The movement of pleasure like that of the serpent is tortuous and variable. To begin with it takes its gliding course in five ways, for pleasures are occasioned by sight and by hearing and by taste and by smell and by touch; but those connected with sexual intercourse prove themselves the most violent of all in their intensity, and this is the method ordained by Nature for the reproduction of the type.

Furthermore the fact that pleasure insinuates itself about all the organs of the irrational portion of the soul is not the only reason for our calling her variable; for we call her so also because she glides with many a coil about each part. For instance variegated pleasures come through sight, those afforded by every kind of painting and of sculpture, and by all other artistic creations which in one art after another charm the eye; by the changes too that plants go through as they shoot up, bloom, and bear fruit; by the beauty of animals seen in so many forms. Similarly the ear gets pleasure from the flute, from the harp, from every kind of instrument, from the

φωναί, χελιδόνων, ἀηδόνων, τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα φύσις μεμούσωκε, λογικῶν εὐφωνία, κιθαρῳδῶν κωμῳδίαν τραγῳδίαν τὴν ἄλλην ὑποκριτικὴν ἐπιδεικνυμένων.

76 XIX. Τί <δὲ> δεῖ περὶ τῶν γαστρὸς ἡδονῶν διδάσκειν; σχεδὸν γὰρ ὅσαι τῶν ὑποκειμένων χυλῶν προσηνῶν διαφοραὶ καὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν κινούντων, τοσαῦται καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς. ἆρ' <οὖν> οὐ δεόντως ποικίλον οὖσα ἡδονὴ ποικίλῳ ζῴῳ
77 ὄφει παρεβλήθη; διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ λαῶδες καὶ ὄχλον ἔχον ἐν ἡμῖν μέρος, ὅτε τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, τουτέστι τῷ σωματικῷ ὄγκῳ, οἰκιῶν ἐφίεται, ἡδοναῖς περιπίπτει θάνατον ἐπαγούσαις, οὐ χωρισμὸν ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς ὑπὸ κακίας φθοράν· φησὶ γάρ· "καὶ ἀπέστειλε κύριος εἰς τὸν λαὸν τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς θανατοῦντας, καὶ ἔδακνον τὸν λαόν, καὶ ἀπέθνησκε λαὸς πολὺς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ" (Num. xxi. 6)· ὄντως γὰρ οὐδὲν οὕτως θάνατον ἐπάγει ψυχῇ, ὡς ἀμετρία τῶν
78 ἡδονῶν. τὸ δὲ ἀποθνῆσκον οὐ τὸ ἄρχον ἐστὶν ἐν ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀρχόμενον τὸ λαῶδες, καὶ μέχρι τούτου θάνατον ἐνδέξεται, μέχρις ἂν μετανοίᾳ χρησάμενον ὁμολογήσῃ τὴν τροπήν· προσελθόντες γὰρ ἔλεγον Μωυσῇ "ὅτι ἡμαρτήκαμεν, ὅτι κατελαλήσαμεν κατὰ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ σοῦ· εὖξαι οὖν πρὸς κύριον, καὶ ἀφελέτω ἀφ' ἡμῶν τοὺς ὄφεις" (ib. 7). εὖ τὸ φάναι, οὐχ ὅτι κατελαλήσαμεν, ἡμάρτομεν, ἀλλ' "ὅτι ἡμάρτομεν, κατελαλήσαμεν"· ὅταν γὰρ ἁμάρτῃ καὶ ἀπαρτηθῇ

[a] See App. p. 481.

[b] Or "'Because we spoke, we sinned' but 'because we sinned, we spoke.'"

tuneful voices of creatures without reason, swallows, nightingales, other birds which Nature has made musical; from the euphonious speech of beings endowed with reason, from musicians as they exercise their histrionic powers in comedy, tragedy, and all that is put on the stage.

XIX. What need to illustrate my point from the pleasures of the table? There are, we may roughly say, as many varieties of pleasure, as there are of dishes set before us stirring our senses with their delicious flavours. Pleasure being, then, a thing so variable, was it not fitly compared to a tortuous animal, the serpent? For this reason, too, when the part of us that corresponds to the turbulent mob of a city, pines for the dwellings in Egypt, that is, in the corporeal mass, it encounters pleasures which bring death, not the death which severs soul from body, but the death which ruins the soul by vice. For we read, "And the Lord sent among the people the deadly serpents, and they bit the people, and much people of the children of Israel died" (Numb. xxi. 6). For verily nothing so surely brings death upon a soul as immoderate indulgence in pleasures. That which dies is not the ruling part in us, but the part that is under rule, the part that is like the vulgar herd. And so long will it incur death, as it fails to repent and acknowledge its fall. For they came to Moses saying, "We have sinned in that we spake against the Lord, and against thee. Pray therefore to the Lord, and let Him take away the serpents from us" (*ibid.* 7). 'Tis well that they say,[a] *not* "We spake against, we sinned" *but* "We sinned, we spake against."[b] For it is when the mind *has* sinned and ceased to

ὁ νοῦς ἀρετῆς, αἰτιᾶται τὰ θεῖα τὴν ἰδίαν τροπὴν προσάπτων θεῷ.

79 XX. Πῶς οὖν γίνεται ἴασις τοῦ πάθους; ὅταν ἕτερος ὄφις κατασκευασθῇ τῷ τῆς Εὔας ἐναντίος, ὁ σωφροσύνης λόγος· ἡδονῇ γὰρ ἐναντίον σωφροσύνη, ποικίλῳ πάθει ποικίλη ἀρετὴ καὶ ἀμυνομένη πολεμίαν ἡδονήν. τὸν κατὰ σωφροσύνην οὖν ὄφιν κελεύει ὁ θεὸς Μωυσεῖ κατασκευάσασθαι καί φησι· "ποίησον σεαυτῷ ὄφιν καὶ θὲς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σημείου" (ib. 8). ὁρᾷς ὅτι οὐκ ἄλλῳ τινὶ κατασκευάζεται τοῦτον ὁ Μωυσῆς τὸν ὄφιν ἢ ἑαυτῷ, προστάττει γὰρ ὁ θεός "ποίησον σεαυτῷ," ἵνα γνῷς, ὅτι οὐ παντός ἐστι κτῆμα σωφροσύνη,

80 ἀλλὰ μόνου τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς. σκεπτέον δέ, διὰ τί Μωυσῆς χαλκοῦν ὄφιν κατασκευάζεται, οὐ προσταχθὲν αὐτῷ περὶ ποιότητος. μήποτ'

[81] | οὖν διὰ τάδε· πρῶτον μὲν ἄυλοί εἰσιν αἱ θεοῦ χάριτες [ἰδέαι αὗται] καὶ ἄποιοι, αἱ δὲ τῶν θνητῶν σὺν ὕλῃ θεωροῦνται· δεύτερον δὲ Μωυσῆς μὲν ἀσωμάτων ἐρᾷ ἀρετῶν, αἱ δ' ἡμέτεραι ψυχαὶ οὐ δυνάμεναι ἐκδῦναι τὰ σώματα σωματικῆς ἐφίενται

81 ἀρετῆς. δυνατῇ δὲ καὶ στερεᾷ οὐσίᾳ τῇ χαλκοῦ ἀπείκασται ὁ κατὰ σωφροσύνην λόγος εὔτονος καὶ ἀδιάκοπος ὤν, ἴσως δὲ καὶ παρόσον ἡ μὲν ἐν τῷ θεοφιλεῖ σωφροσύνη τιμιωτάτη ἐστὶ καὶ χρυσῷ ἐοικυῖα, δευτερεύουσα δὲ ἡ ἐν τῷ κατὰ προκοπὴν σοφίαν ἀναλαβόντι. ὃν ἂν οὖν "δάκῃ ὄφις, πᾶς ὁ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ζήσεται" (ib.)· πάνυ

cleave to virtue, that it blames God's ways, fastening its own defection on God.

XX. How, then, is a healing of their suffering brought about? By the making of another serpent, opposite in kind to that of Eve, namely the principle of self-mastery. For self-mastery runs counter to pleasure, a variable virtue to a variable affection, and a virtue that defends itself against pleasure its foe. So then God bids Moses make the serpent that expresses self-mastery, and says: "Make for thyself a serpent and set it upon a standard" (*ibid.* 8). You notice that Moses makes this serpent for no one else, but for himself, for God's bidding is "Make it for thyself." This is that you may know that self-mastery is not a possession of every man, but only of the man beloved of God.

We must consider why Moses makes a brazen serpent, no direction having been given him as to material. Possibly these are the reasons. In the first place, matter is not an element in God's gifts making them to be of this or that sort; but the gifts of us mortals are always looked upon embodied in matter. A second reason: Moses loves excellences without bodily form, whereas our souls, being unable to get out of our bodies, crave for excellence in bodily shape. But the principle of self-mastery, being forcible and unyielding, is likened to the strong and firm substance of brass, perhaps also because, whereas the self-mastery found in the man beloved of God is most precious and like gold, that which is found in him who has absorbed wisdom by gradual progress holds the second place. Everyone, then, "whom a serpent shall have bitten, when he looks on it shall live" (*ibid.*). This is quite true. For if the

ἀληθῶς· ἐὰν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς δηχθεὶς ἡδονῇ, τῷ τῆς
Εὔας ὄφει, ἰσχύσῃ κατιδεῖν ψυχικῶς τὸ σωφρο-
σύνης κάλλος, τὸν Μωυσέως ὄφιν, καὶ διὰ τούτου
τὸν θεὸν αὐτόν, ζήσεται· μόνον ἰδέτω καὶ κατα-
82 νοησάτω. XXI. οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ ἡ ἄρ-
χουσα σοφία Σάρρα φησίν· "ὃς γὰρ ἂν ἀκούσῃ,
συγχαρεῖταί μοι" (Gen. xxi. 6); ἀλλὰ φέρε
τινὰ ἰσχῦσαι ἀκοῦσαι, ὅτι τέτοκεν ἡ ἀρετὴ τὴν
εὐδαιμονίαν Ἰσαάκ, καὶ εὐθὺς συγχαρητικὸν ὕμνον
ὑμνήσει. ὡς οὖν τοῦ ἀκούσαντός ἐστι <τὸ>
συγχαίρειν, οὕτως τοῦ σωφροσύνην καὶ θεὸν
83 ἰδόντος εἰλικρινῶς τὸ μὴ ἀποθνήσκειν. πολλαὶ
δὲ καρτερίας καὶ σωφροσύνης ἐρασθεῖσαι ψυχαὶ
καὶ ἐρημωθεῖσαι παθῶν ὅμως κράτος ὑπέμειναν
θεοῦ καὶ τροπὴν τὴν πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἐδέξαντο,
διασυνιστάντος αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ
δεσπότου, ἑαυτὸν μέν, ὅτι ἀκλινὴς ἕστηκεν ἀεί,
τὴν δὲ γένεσιν, ὅτι ταλαντεύει καὶ πρὸς τἀναντία
84 ἀντιρρέπει· φησὶ γάρ· "τοῦ ἀγαγόντος σε διὰ
τῆς ἐρήμου τῆς μεγάλης καὶ τῆς φοβερᾶς ἐκείνης,
οὗ ὄφις δάκνων καὶ σκορπίος καὶ δίψα, οὗ οὐκ
ἦν ὕδωρ, τοῦ ἐξαγαγόντος σοι ἐκ πέτρας ἀκρο-
τόμου πηγὴν ὕδατος, τοῦ ψωμίσαντός σε τὸ
μάννα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ὃ οὐκ ᾔδεισαν οἱ πατέρες
σου" (Deut. viii. 15, 16). ὁρᾷς ὅτι οὐ μόνον
τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ παθῶν ἐφιεμένη ἡ ψυχὴ περι-
πίπτει τοῖς ὄφεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτε ἐστὶν ἐν ἐρήμῳ
δάκνεται ὑφ' ἡδονῆς, τοῦ ποικίλου καὶ ὀφιώδους
πάθους· οἰκειότατον δὲ ὄνομα εἴληχε τὸ ἡδονῆς
85 ἔργον, δηγμὸς γὰρ καλεῖται. ἀλλ' οὐ μόνον οἱ
ἐν ἐρήμῳ δάκνονται ὑφ' ἡδονῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ

[a] See App. p. 481.

mind, when bitten by pleasure, the serpent of Eve, shall have succeeded in beholding in soul the beauty of self-mastery, the serpent of Moses, and through beholding this, beholds God Himself, he shall live ; only let him look and mark well. XXI. Do you not notice that Sarah, that is dominant wisdom, says : "For whosoever shall hear of it shall rejoice with me" (Gen. xxi. 6) ? Just suppose that someone has succeeded in hearing that Virtue has given birth to Happiness (Isaac). Straightway he will sing a hymn of sympathetic joy. As then fellowship in joy is his who has heard of Isaac's birth, so is escape from death his who has looked with clear vision on self-mastery and God. [a] But many souls, after being enamoured of endurance and self-mastery and divested of passions, nevertheless do experience the might of God and receive the turning to the lower way, the Master making a sharp distinction between Himself and His creation. He Himself stands ever steadfast, while His creation wavers and inclines in opposite directions. For the prophet says : "Who led thee through that great and terrible wilderness, where there was biting serpent and scorpion and drought, where there was no water, who brought out a spring of water for thee from the hard rock, who fed thee with manna in the wilderness, which thy fathers knew not" (Deut. viii. 15 f.). You see that it is not only when attracted by the passions of Egypt that the soul falls in with the serpents, but when it is in a wilderness too it is bitten by pleasure, that subtle and snake-like passion. And pleasure's mode of action has received a most appropriate name, for it is here called a biting. But not those in a wilderness only are bitten by pleasure, but those

ἐσκορπισμένοι· καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ πολλάκις καταλιπὼν μὲν ἀνθρώπους συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους καὶ πατρίδα καὶ εἰς ἐρημίαν ἐλθών, ἵνα τι τῶν θέας ἀξίων κατανοήσω, οὐδὲν ὤνησα, ἀλλὰ σκορπισθεὶς ὁ νοῦς ἢ πάθει δηχθεὶς ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τἀναντία· ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ ἐν πλήθει μυριάνδρῳ ἠρεμῶ τὴν
[82] διάνοιαν, | τὸν ψυχικὸν ὄχλον σκεδάσαντος θεοῦ καὶ διδάξαντός με, ὅτι οὐ τόπων διαφοραὶ τό τε εὖ καὶ χεῖρον ἐργάζονται, ἀλλ' ὁ κινῶν θεὸς καὶ ἄγων ᾗ ἂν προαιρῆται τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄχημα.

86 πλὴν περιπίπτει σκορπίῳ, ὅπερ ἐστὶ σκορπισμῷ, ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, καὶ δίψα καταλαμβάνει ἡ τῶν παθῶν, μέχρις ἂν ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀκροτόμου σοφίας ἑαυτοῦ τὸ νᾶμα ἐπιπέμψῃ καὶ ποτίσῃ τὴν τραπεῖσαν ψυχὴν ἀμεταβλήτῳ ὑγείᾳ· ἡ γὰρ ἀκρότομος πέτρα ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν, ἣν ἄκραν καὶ πρωτίστην ἔτεμεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεων, ἐξ ἧς ποτίζει τὰς φιλοθέους ψυχάς· ποτισθεῖσαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ μάννα ἐμπίπλανται τοῦ γενικωτάτου—καλεῖται γὰρ τὸ μάννα "τί," ὃ πάντων ἐστὶ γένος—, τὸ δὲ γενικώτατόν ἐστιν ὁ θεός, καὶ δεύτερος ὁ θεοῦ λόγος, τὰ δ' ἄλλα λόγῳ μόνον ὑπάρχει, ἔργοις δὲ ἔστιν οὗ ἴσα τῷ οὐχ ὑπάρχοντι.

87 XXII. Ἴδε νῦν διαφορὰν τοῦ ἐν ἐρήμῳ τρεπομένου καὶ τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς θανατοῦσιν ὄφεσι χρῆται, τουτέστιν ἀπλήστοις ἡδοναῖς

[a] Or "supremely generic."

also who are a prey to scattering. For many a time have I myself forsaken friends and kinsfolk and country and come into a wilderness, to give my attention to some subject demanding contemplation, and derived no advantage from doing so, but my mind scattered or bitten by passion has gone off to matters of the contrary kind. Sometimes, on the other hand, amid a vast throng I have a collected mind. God has dispersed the crowd that besets the soul and taught me that a favourable and unfavourable condition are not brought about by differences of place, but by God who moves and leads the car of the soul in whatever way He pleases.

To return to what I was saying, the soul falls in with a scorpion, which is "scattering," in the wilderness, and the drought of the passions seizes upon it, until God send forth the stream from His strong wisdom and quench with unfailing health the thirst of the soul that had turned from Him. For the flinty rock is the wisdom of God, which He marked off highest and chiefest from His powers, and from which He satisfies the thirsty souls that love God. And when they have been given water to drink, they are filled also with the manna, the most generic of substances, for the manna is called "somewhat," and that suggests the *summum genus*. But the primal existence [a] is God, and next to Him is the Word of God, but all other things subsist in word only, but in their active effects they are in some cases as good as non-subsisting.

XXII. Note now a difference between him who turns aside in the wilderness and him who does so in Egypt. The one has experience of deadly serpents, that is to say insatiable pleasures inflicting

θάνατον ἐπιφερούσαις, ὁ δ᾿ ἀσκητὴς δάκνεται μόνον ὑφ᾿ ἡδονῆς καὶ σκορπίζεται, οὐ θανατοῦται· κἀκεῖνος μὲν σωφροσύνῃ, χαλκῷ ὄφει, θεραπεύεται γενομένῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ σοφοῦ Μωυσέως, οὗτος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ποτίζεται κάλλιστον ποτὸν σοφίαν ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς ἣν αὐτὸς ἐξήγαγεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
88 σοφίας. οὐδὲ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου Μωυσέως ἀπέχεται ἡ ὀφιώδης <ἡδονή>, λέγεται δὲ ὧδε· "ἐὰν οὖν μὴ πιστεύσωσί μοι μηδὲ εἰσακούσωσι τῆς φωνῆς μου—ἐροῦσι γάρ, οὐκ ὦπταί σοι ὁ θεός—, τί ἐρῶ πρὸς αὐτούς; καὶ εἶπε κύριος Μωυσεῖ· τί τοῦτ᾿ ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ χειρί σου; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· ῥάβδος. καὶ εἶπε· ῥῖψον αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. καὶ ἔρριψεν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἐγένετο ὄφις, καὶ ἔφυγε Μωυσῆς ἀπ᾿ αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἶπε κύριος Μωυσεῖ· ἔκτεινον τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἐπιλαβοῦ τῆς κέρκου. ἐκτείνας οὖν τὴν χεῖρα ἐπελάβετο τῆς κέρκου, καὶ ἐγένετο ῥάβδος ἐν τῇ χειρὶ <αὐτοῦ>· ἵνα πιστεύσωσί σοι" (Exod. iv. 1 ff.).
89 πῶς ἄν τις πιστεύσαι θεῷ; ἐὰν μάθῃ, ὅτι πάντα τὰ ἄλλα τρέπεται, μόνος δὲ αὐτὸς ἄτρεπτός ἐστι. πυνθάνεται οὖν ὁ θεὸς τοῦ σοφοῦ, τί ἐστιν ἐν τῷ πρακτικῷ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ βίῳ· ἡ γὰρ χεὶρ σύμβολον πράξεως· ὁ δ᾿ ἀποκρίνεται, ὅτι παιδεία, ἣν ῥάβδον καλεῖ. διὸ καὶ ὁ πτερνιστὴς τῶν παθῶν Ἰακὼβ φησιν· "ἐν γὰρ τῇ ῥάβδῳ μου διέβην τὸν Ἰορδάνην τοῦτον" (Gen. xxxii. 10)·
[83] Ἰορδάνης | δὲ κατάβασις ἑρμηνεύεται· τῆς δὲ κάτω καὶ γηίνης καὶ φθαρτῆς φύσεώς ἐστι τὰ κατὰ κακίαν καὶ πάθος· διαβαίνει δὲ ταῦτα ὁ ἀσκητὴς νοῦς ἐν παιδείᾳ· ταπεινὸν γὰρ τὸ ἐκδέχεσθαι, ὅτι βακτηρίαν ἔχων ποταμὸν διέβαινε.

death; but the disciplined one is only bitten and scattered, not done to death, by pleasure. And while the one is cured by self-mastery, even the brazen serpent made by the wise Moses, the other is caused by God to drink a draught most excellent, even wisdom out of the fountain which He drew out from His own wisdom. Not even from Moses, most beloved of God, does Pleasure, the serpent-like one, refrain, but this is what we read: "If therefore they say, 'God has not appeared to thee,' and believe me not and hearken not to my voice, what shall I say to them? And the Lord said unto Moses, 'What is that in thine hand?' And he said, 'A rod.' And He said, 'Cast it upon the ground.' And he cast it upon the ground, and it became a serpent, and Moses fled from it. And the Lord said unto Moses, 'Stretch forth thine hand and lay hold of its tail' (and he stretched forth his hand and took hold of its tail, and it became a rod in his hand): that they may believe thee" (Exod. iv. 1 ff.). How should one come to believe God? By learning that all other things change but He is unchangeable. Therefore God asks the wise man what there is in his hand or in the active life of his soul, for the hand represents activity; and he answers, "Schooling," giving it the name of a rod. So Jacob also, the supplanter of the passions, says, "For in my rod I crossed this Jordan" (Gen. xxxii. 10). The meaning of Jordan is "descent" or "coming down." And to the nature that is down below, earthly, corruptible, belongs all that is done under the impulse of vice and passion. Over these Mind, the disciplined One, crosses in schooling himself. To take the words to mean that he crossed the river with a staff in

90 XXIII. καλῶς οὖν καὶ ὁ θεοφιλὴς Μωυσῆς ἀποκρίνεται· ὄντως γὰρ αἱ πράξεις τοῦ σπουδαίου παιδείᾳ ὡς ἂν ῥάβδῳ ἐπερείδονται, τὸν κλόνον καὶ σάλον τῆς ψυχῆς ἱδρυόμεναι. αὕτη ἡ ῥάβδος ἀπορριφθεῖσα γίνεται ὄφις· εἰκότως· ἐὰν γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ ἀπορρίψῃ τὴν παιδείαν, γέγονε φιλήδονος ἀντὶ φιλαρέτου. διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς φεύγει ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ πάθους καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς
91 ἀποδιδράσκει ὁ φιλάρετος. ἀλλά τοί γε ὁ θεὸς τὴν φυγὴν οὐκ ἐπαινεῖ· σοὶ μὲν γάρ, ὦ διάνοια, μήπω τελειωθείσῃ φυγὴν καὶ δρασμὸν τῶν παθῶν ἁρμόζει μελετᾶν, Μωυσεῖ δὲ τῷ τελείῳ παραμένειν τῷ πρὸς αὐτὰ πολέμῳ καὶ ἀντιστατεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ διαμάχεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀδείας καὶ ἐξουσίας λαβόμενα μέχρι τῆς ψυχικῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἀναβάντα πᾶσαν ἐκπολιορκήσει καὶ λεηλατήσει τυράννου
92 τρόπον τὴν ψυχήν. διὸ καὶ προστάττει ὁ θεὸς "λαβέσθαι τῆς κέρκου," τουτέστι τὸ ἀντίδικον τῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ ἀτίθασον αὐτῆς μὴ φοβείτω σε, ἀλλὰ τούτου μάλιστα λαβοῦ καὶ κατάσχες καὶ περικράτησον· ἔσται γὰρ πάλιν ἀντὶ ὄφεως ῥάβδος, τουτέστιν ἀντὶ ἡδονῆς γενήσεται ἐν τῇ χειρὶ
93 παιδεία. ἀλλὰ γενήσεται ἐν τῇ χειρί, ἐν τῇ πράξει τοῦ σοφοῦ, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἀληθές ἐστι· λαβέσθαι δὲ καὶ περικρατῆσαι ἡδονῆς ἀδύνατον, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐκταθείη ἡ χείρ, τουτέστιν εἰ μὴ τὰς πράξεις καὶ προκοπὰς ἁπάσας ὁμολογήσειεν ἡ ψυχὴ κατὰ θεὸν εἶναι καὶ μηδὲν εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀναγάγοι. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸν ὄφιν ἀποδιδράσκειν ὁ βλέπων δι-

his hand would be tame. XXIII. Good, therefore is the reply of Moses beloved of God; for in truth the conduct of the virtuous man leans on discipline as on a rod, settling and allaying the tumult and tossing of the soul. This rod when cast away becomes a serpent; naturally; for if the soul casts away discipline, it at once becomes a lover of pleasure in place of a lover of virtue. And so Moses flies from it; for the lover of virtue runs away from passion and pleasure. But, mark you, God does not applaud his flight. For while it well befits thee, O my mind, who art not yet made perfect, to get practice by flying and running away from the passions, it befits Moses, the perfect one, not to desist from the warfare against them, but to resist them and fight it out. Otherwise, finding nothing to alarm or to stop them, they will make their way up to the very citadel of the soul, and storm and plunder the whole soul after the fashion of a lawless ruler. Wherefore also God bids him "lay hold of the tail." This means, "Let not pleasure's opposition and her savagery daunt thee. That is the very part to make for. Grip it fast and quell it; for then there shall be once more a rod instead of a serpent; that is to say, instead of pleasure there shall be in thy hand discipline." But it is "in the *hand*," in the *doing* of the wise man, that this shall come to pass. This is quite true. It would be impossible to lay hold of pleasure and get the mastery of it if the hand were not first stretched out, that is to say, if the soul were not first to acknowledge that all its achievements and successes are due to God's impelling force and to refer nothing to itself. The man whose eyes are open determines to run away from

ἔγνωκεν· ἕτερον δὲ τὸν σωφροσύνης λόγον κατασκευάζει, τὸν χαλκοῦν ἐκεῖνον, ἵνα ὁ δηχθεὶς ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἰδὼν σωφροσύνην ζήσῃ τὸν ἀληθῆ βίον.

94 XXIV. Τοιοῦτον ὄφιν εὔχεται ὁ Ἰακὼβ γενέσθαι τὸν Δὰν καί φησιν οὕτως· "Δὰν κρινεῖ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λαόν, ὡσεὶ καὶ μία φυλὴ Ἰσραήλ, καί· Γενέσθω Δὰν ὄφις ἐφ' ὁδοῦ, ἐγκαθήμενος ἐπὶ τρίβου, δάκνων πτέρναν ἵππου, καὶ πεσεῖται ὁ ἱππεὺς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, τὴν σωτηρίαν περιμένων κυρίου" (Gen. xlix. 16-18). ἐκ μὲν τῆς Λείας πέμπτος υἱός ἐστιν Ἰσσάχαρ γνήσιος τοῦ Ἰακώβ, συγκαταριθμουμένων δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ζέλφας δυεῖν ἕβδομος, τοῦ δὲ Ἰακὼβ πέμπτος ἐστὶν ὁ Δὰν ἐκ τῆς Βάλλας τῆς παιδίσκης Ῥαχήλ. τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἰδίαν ἐξευρήσομεν. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Δὰν
95 πάλιν κατανοητέον. δύο γένη φορεῖ ἡ ψυχή, τὸ μὲν θεῖον, τὸ δὲ φθαρτόν· τὸ μὲν οὖν κρεῖττον κεκύηκεν ἤδη καὶ ἵσταται ἐπ' αὐτοῦ· ὅτε γὰρ
[84] ἐξομολογήσασθαι τῷ | θεῷ καὶ παραχωρῆσαι πάντα ἴσχυσεν ἡ ψυχή, κτῆμα κρεῖσσον λαβεῖν οὐκέτ' εἶχε· διὰ τοῦτ' ἔστη τοῦ τίκτειν τὸν Ἰούδαν, τὸν
96 ἐξομολογητικὸν τρόπον, ἐνεγκοῦσα. τὸ δὲ θνητὸν γένος νῦν ἄρχεται διαπλάττειν. ὑφέστηκε δὲ τὸ θνητὸν καταπόσει· θεμελίου γὰρ τρόπον ἡ γεῦσις, ἣ αἰτία τῆς τῶν ζῴων διαμονῆς ἐστι· Βάλλα δὲ ἑρμηνεύεται κατάποσις· ἐκ ταύτης οὖν γίνεται ὁ Δάν, ὃς ἑρμηνεύεται κρίσις· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ γένος διακρίνει καὶ χωρίζει τὰ ἀθάνατα ἀπὸ τῶν θνητῶν. εὔχεται οὖν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι σωφροσύνης ἐραστήν,

this serpent, and he fashions another, the principle of self-mastery, that serpent of brass, in order that the man who has been bitten by pleasure may, on seeing self-mastery, live the real life.

XXIV. Such a serpent does Jacob pray that Dan may become, and speaks on this wise :

"Dan shall judge his people,
As if indeed one tribe of Israel," and
"Let Dan become a serpent in the way,
Seated on the beaten track, biting the horse's heel,
And the horseman shall fall backward,
Waiting for the salvation of the Lord."
(Gen. xlix. 16-18.)

Of those born of Leah Issachar is Jacob's fifth genuine son, or if Zilpah's two sons are reckoned in, he is the seventh. But Jacob's fifth son is Dan, by Bilhah Rachel's handmaid. The occasion of this remark we shall discover in my special treatise on the subject. The subject of Dan demands further study. The soul bears two kinds of offspring, the one divine, the other perishable. The better kind she has already conceived, and with it she ceases to bear. For when the soul had attained to making full submission and acknowledgement to God there was no better possession for it to go on to gain. This is why she ceased when she had borne Judah, the spirit of praise and acknowledgement. The soul now goes on to the fashioning of the mortal race. The mortal subsists by swallowing. For the taste, like a foundation, is the cause of living creatures continuing to live. And Bilhah means "swallowing." From this woman there springs Dan, whose name signifies sifting or distinguishing : for this race distinguishes and separates things immortal from those that are mortal. So his father prays that he may

τῷ δὲ Ἰούδᾳ οὐκ εὔξεται· ἔχει γὰρ ἤδη τὸ ἐξομολο-
97 γεῖσθαι καὶ εὐαρεστεῖν θεῷ. "γενέσθω" οὖν φησι "Δὰν ὄφις ἐφ' ὁδοῦ." ὁδὸς ἡμῶν ἐστιν ἡ ψυχή· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἔστιν ἰδεῖν διαφορὰν τῶν ὄντων, ἀψύχων ἐμψύχων, ἀλόγων λογικῶν, σπουδαίων φαύλων, δούλων ἐλευθέρων, νεωτέρων πρεσβυτέρων, ἀρρένων θηλειῶν, ξένων ἀστῶν, νοσούντων ὑγιαινόντων, λελωβημένων ὁλοκλήρων, οὕτως καὶ ἐν ψυχῇ καὶ ἄψυχα καὶ ἀτελῆ καὶ νοσώδη καὶ δοῦλα καὶ θήλεα καὶ μυρία ἄλλα κηρῶν μεστὰ κινήματά ἐστι, καὶ ἔμπαλιν ἔμψυχα ὁλόκληρα ἄρρενα ἐλεύθερα ὑγιᾶ πρεσβύτερα σπουδαῖα γνήσια
98 καὶ ἀστὰ ὄντως. γενέσθω οὖν ὁ σωφροσύνης λόγος ὄφις ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς ὁδευούσης διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ πραγμάτων καὶ ἐγκαθισάτω ἐπὶ τρίβου. τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστίν; ἄτριπτος μὲν ὁ ἀρετῆς χῶρος, ὀλίγοι γὰρ βαίνουσιν αὐτόν, τέτριπται δὲ ὁ κακίας· ἐγκαθίσαι δὴ καὶ ἐνεδρεῦσαι καὶ λοχῆσαι παραινεῖ τὴν τετριμμένην ὁδόν, τὸ πάθος καὶ τὴν κακίαν, ἐν οἷς κατατρίβονται τὸν βίον οἱ φυγάδες ἀρετῆς λογισμοί.

99 XXV. "Δάκνων πτέρναν ἵππου." ἐχομένως πτερνιστής ἐστιν ὁ τὴν στάσιν τοῦ γενητοῦ καὶ φθαρτοῦ διασείων τρόπος. τὰ πάθη δὲ ἵππῳ ἀπεικάσθη· τετρασκελὲς γὰρ καὶ τὸ πάθος ὡς ἵππος καὶ ὁρμητικὸν καὶ αὐθαδείας γέμον καὶ σκιρτητικὸν φύσει. ὁ δὲ σωφροσύνης λόγος δάκνειν καὶ τιτρώσκειν φιλεῖ καὶ ἀναιρεῖν τὸ πάθος· πτερνισθέντος δὲ τοῦ πάθους καὶ ὀκλάσαντος "πεσεῖται ὁ ἱππεὺς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω." ἱππέα νοητέον <τὸν> ἐπιβεβηκότα τοῖς πάθεσι νοῦν, ὃς ἀποπίπτει

prove a lover of self-mastery. But for Judah he will offer no such prayer, for Judah already has the property of praising and pleasing God. So he says, "Let Dan become a serpent on the road." The soul is our road; for as on the roads it is possible to see the distinction of existences, lifeless, living; irrational, rational; good, bad; slave, free; young, or older; male, female; foreign, or native; sickly, healthy; maimed, entire; so in the soul too there are lifeless, incomplete, diseased, enslaved, female, and countless other movements full of disabilities; and on the other hand movements living, entire, male, free, sound, elder, good, genuine, and, in a real sense, of the fatherland. Let then the principle of self-mastery become a serpent upon the soul whose road lies through all the circumstances of life and let it seat itself upon the well worn track. What is this? The path of virtue is unworn, for few tread it, while that of vice is well worn. He calls on him to beset with his ambuscade and to lie in wait upon the beaten road of passion and vice, on which reasoning powers that flee from virtue wear out their life.

XXV. "Biting the horse's heel." It is quite in keeping that the character which upsets the stability of created and perishable life attacks the heel. The passions are likened to a horse. For passion, like a horse, is a four-legged[a] creature, impulsive, full of wilfulness, and naturally restive. But the principle of self-mastery loves to bite and wound and destroy passion. When passion with its heel bitten has stumbled "the horseman shall fall backwards." We must understand by "the horseman" the mind that is mounted on the passions,

[a] See App. p. 481.

τῶν παθῶν, ὅταν αὐτὰ συλλογισθῇ καὶ πτερνισθῇ.
100 εὖ δ' ὅτι εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν οὐ πίπτει ἡ ψυχή· μὴ γὰρ προερχέσθω τῶν παθῶν, ἀλλ' ὑστεριζέτω τούτων, καὶ σωφρονισθήσεται. καὶ δογματικόν ἐστιν ὃ λέγει· ἐὰν γὰρ ὁρμήσας ὁ νοῦς ἀδικῆσαι ὑστερήσῃ καὶ πέσῃ εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, οὐκ ἀδικήσει· ἐὰν δὲ ἐπὶ πάθος κινηθεὶς ἄλογον μὴ ἐπεκδράμῃ,
[85] ἀλλὰ | κατόπιν μείνῃ, ἀπάθειαν, τὸ κάλλιστον,
101 καρπώσεται. διὸ καὶ τὸ κατόπιν πτῶμα ἀποδεχόμενος τῶν κακιῶν ἐπιφέρει· "τὴν σωτηρίαν περιμένων κυρίου·" ὄντως γὰρ ὑπὸ θεοῦ σῴζεται ὁ ἀποπίπτων τῶν παθῶν καὶ ὑστερίζων τῆς ἐνεργείας αὐτῶν. πέσοι τοιοῦτόν μου πτῶμα ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ μηδέποτε ἀνασταίη ἐπὶ τὸ ἵππειον καὶ σκιρτητικὸν πάθος, ἵνα θεοῦ σωτηρίαν περιμείνασα εὐδαι-
102 μονήσῃ. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐν τῷ ᾄσματι ὑμνεῖ τὸν θεόν, ὅτι "ἵππον καὶ ἀναβάτην ἔρριψεν εἰς θάλασσαν" (Exod. xv. 1), τὰ τέσσαρα πάθη καὶ τὸν ἐποχούμενον αὐτοῖς ἄθλιον νοῦν εἰς τὴν φθορὰν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τὸν ἀνήνυτον βυθόν· καὶ σχεδὸν τοῦ ᾄσματος ὅλου τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἐφ' ὃ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἀναφέρεται, καὶ οὕτως ἔχει· ἐὰν γὰρ ἀπάθεια κατάσχῃ τὴν ψυχήν, τελέως εὐδαιμονήσει.

103 XXVI. Ζητητέον δέ, τίνος ἕνεκα ὁ μὲν Ἰακὼβ φησιν, ὅτι "πεσεῖται ὁ ἱππεὺς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω" (Gen. xlix. 17), Μωυσῆς δὲ ᾄδει, ὅτι ἵππος καὶ ἀναβάτης κατεποντώθησαν. λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι ὁ μὲν καταποντούμενος ὁ Αἰγύπτιός ἐστι τρόπος, ὅς, κἂν φεύγῃ, ὑπὸ τὸ ὕδωρ τουτέστιν ὑπὸ τὴν φορὰν

which falls off the passions when they are brought to a reckoning and overthrown. 'Tis well that the soul does not fall forwards : let him not get in advance of the passions, but be behind them, and he shall learn self-control. And there is sound principle in what is said here. For if the mind, after starting out to do wrong, drops behind and falls backwards, it will not do the wrong deed ; and if, after experiencing an impulse to an irrational passion, it does not follow it up, but stays behind, it will reap the fairest reward, even exemption from passion. That is why the prophet, understanding the falling backwards to be escape from the passions, adds the words, " waiting for the salvation of the Lord " : for he is indeed saved by God who falls away from the passions and comes short of realizing them in act. May my soul have such a fall, and never mount the beast of passion, wild like a bounding capering horse, that, having waited for God's salvation, it may attain to bliss. This explains why Moses in the Song praises God, that " He cast horse and rider into the sea " (Exod. xv. 1). He means that God cast to utter ruin and the bottomless abyss the four passions and the wretched mind mounted on them. This is indeed practically the chief point of the whole Song, to which all else is subsidiary. And it is true ; for if the soul be won by exemption from passion, it will have perfect bliss.

XXVI. But we must inquire why, whereas Jacob says, " the horseman shall fall backwards " (Gen. xlix. 17), Moses sings of the drowning of horse and rider. We must remark then, that, whereas he that is to perish by drowning is the Egyptian character, which, even if it flees, flees under the water, that is, under

τῶν παθῶν φεύγει, ὁ δὲ πίπτων ἱππεὺς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσθια οὐκ ἔστι τῶν φιλοπαθῶν· τεκμήριον δέ, ὅτι οὗτος μέν ἐστιν ἱππεύς, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἀναβάτης·
104 ἱππέως μὲν οὖν ἔργον δαμάζειν τὸν ἵππον καὶ ἀφηνιάζοντα ἐπιστομίζειν, ἀναβάτου δὲ φέρεσθαι ᾗ ἂν τὸ ζῷον ἄγῃ· καὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ τοῦ μὲν κυβερνήτου ἔργον ἄγειν τὸ σκάφος καὶ εὐθύνειν καὶ ὀρθοῦν, τοῦ δὲ ἐπιβάτου πάσχειν ὅσα ἂν ἡ ναῦς ὑπομένῃ. παρὸ καὶ ὁ δαμάζων τὰ πάθη ἱππεὺς οὐ καταποντοῦται, ἀλλὰ ἀποβὰς αὐτῶν τὴν σωτηρίαν περιμένει τοῦ δεσπότου.

105 Παραινεῖ μέντοι ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος ἐν Λευιτικῷ "ἀπὸ τῶν ἑρπετῶν, ἃ πορεύεται ἐπὶ τεσσάρων, ἃ ἔχει σκέλη ἀνώτερον τῶν ποδῶν, ὥστε πηδᾶν ἐν αὐτοῖς" σιτεῖσθαι (Lev. xi. 21), ὧν ἐστιν ὁ βροῦχος καὶ ὁ ἀττακὸς καὶ ἀκρὶς καὶ τέταρτον ὁ ὀφιομάχης· καὶ δεόντως· εἰ γὰρ ἄτροφον καὶ βλαβερὸν πρᾶγμα ὀφιώδης ἡδονή, τροφιμώτατον ἂν καὶ σωτήριον γένοιτο ἡ πρὸς ἡδονὴν διαμαχο-
106 μένη φύσις· αὕτη δὲ ἡ σωφροσύνη ἐστί. μάχου δὴ καὶ σύ, ὦ διάνοια, πρὸς πᾶν πάθος καὶ διαφερόντως πρὸς ἡδονήν, καὶ γὰρ "φρονιμώτατός ἐστιν ὁ ὄφις πάντων θηρίων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὧν
107 ἐποίησε κύριος ὁ θεός" (Gen. iii. 1)· τῶν γὰρ πάντων πανουργότατόν ἐστιν ἡδονή· διὰ τί; ὅτι πάντα ἡδονῆς δοῦλα καὶ ὁ βίος ὁ τῶν φαύλων δεσπόζεται ὑφ᾿ ἡδονῆς· τὰ γοῦν ποιητικὰ αὐτῆς εὑρίσκεται διὰ πανουργίας πάσης, χρυσὸς ἄργυρος
[86] δόξα τιμαὶ ἀρχαί, αἱ ὗλαι τῶν | αἰσθητῶν, καὶ τέχναι αἱ βάναυσοι καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι κατασκευα-

the current of the passions ; the horseman who falls backwards does not belong to the lovers of the passions. A proof of this is that he is called "horseman," whereas the other is called "rider." A horseman's business is to subdue his horse and use the bit when it disregards the rein, whereas a rider's business is to be carried wherever the animal takes him. On the sea, too, the helmsman's business is to guide the boat and keep it upright and in its course, but it is for the passenger to experience all that the ship undergoes. Accordingly the horseman who subdues the passions is not drowned but, dismounting from them, awaits the salvation that comes from the Master.

Now the sacred word in Leviticus directs them to feed "on creeping things that go upon all four, which have legs above their feet, so as to leap with them" (Lev. xi. 21). Such are the locust, the wild locust, the grasshopper, and in the fourth place the cricket. And this is as it should be. For if serpentlike pleasure is a thing un-nourishing and injurious, self-mastery, the nature that is in conflict with pleasure, must be wholesome and full of nourishment. Do thou also contend, O my mind, against all passion and above all against pleasure, for indeed "the serpent is the most subtle of all beasts upon the earth, which the Lord God made" (Gen. iii. 1) ; for pleasure is the most cunning of all things. Why is this ? Because all things are enthralled to pleasure, and the life of bad men is under the dominion of pleasure. The things that yield pleasure are obtained by means of cunning of every kind ; gold, silver, glory, honours, offices, the materials of objects of sense, the mechanical arts, and all other

στικαὶ ἡδονῆς πάνυ ποικίλαι. καὶ ἀδικοῦμεν δι' ἡδονήν, τὰ δὲ ἀδικήματα οὐκ ἄνευ πανουργίας
108 τῆς ἐσχάτης ἐστίν. τὴν ὀφιομάχον οὖν γνώμην ἀντίταττε καὶ κάλλιστον ἀγῶνα τοῦτον διάθλησον καὶ σπούδασον στεφανωθῆναι κατὰ τῆς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας νικώσης ἡδονῆς καλὸν καὶ εὐκλεᾶ στέφανον, ὃν οὐδεμία πανήγυρις ἀνθρώπων ἐχορήγησεν.

arts in great variety that minister to pleasure. It is for the sake of pleasure that we do wrong, and wrong deeds are ever associated with desperate cunning. Therefore set judgement, the serpent-fighter, against it, and contend to the end in this noblest contest, and strive earnestly, by defeating pleasure that conquers all others, to win the noble and glorious crown, which no human assembly has ever bestowed.

ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION TO BOOK III

A. Man Exiled. Gen. iii. 8 (1-48).

(*a*) Man hiding from God (1-27).

Contrasted with *Moses* (12-14),
who is open before God, and shuns Distraction ("Pharaoh").
Contrasted with *Jacob* (15-23),
who flies from Material Temptation ("Laban"), to heights of Virtue and Witness ("Gilead").
Contrasted with *Abraham* (24-27),
who, loyal to God, refuses the offer of the World (King of Sodom).

(*b*) Man taking refuge in Self (28-47).

Exod. xxii. 1 f. Rejection of God, that comes to nothing, far less heinous than thorough-going Self-exaltation (32-35).
Deut. xxvii. 15. Evil of secretly holding false opinions (36).
Exod. ii. 12. Evil of being buried in our own loose mind (37).
Gen. xv. 5. Bliss of flying from Self to God (39).
Gen. xxiv. 7—and of quitting the mortal body to be with God (42).
Exod. ix. 29—and our own mind to open all to God (43).
Exod. xxxiii. 7—of going out of Self, and seeking God, even if we fail (46 f.).

B. The Call. Gen. iii. 9-13 (49-64).

The Call is addressed to Mind, for Mind is capable of instruction. (Sense-perception receives no special call.)

The Question, "Where art thou?" capable of being taken in other ways.

The Answer of Mind comes to this, "There where fear is, and hiding from Thee, and nakedness of virtue" (49-55).

The words "gavest with me" imply the freedom of Sense-perception, which apprehends simultaneously with Mind, and gives it occasions of apprehending ("*She* gave it me") (56-58).

The Answer of Sense-perception is pertinent, though she says "*I* ate," when asked about Adam's eating, for Mind concurs at once with Sense-perception.

And she rightly says "beguiled," for, while Sense-perception gives without any guile, Pleasure falsifies the object (59-64).

C. Pleasure, Evil in Origin. Gen. iii. 14 (65-106)

God cursing the serpent (viz. Pleasure), without giving him an opportunity to defend himself, is paralleled with God slaying Er (Gen. xxxviii. 7), without bringing an open charge against him. Slain Er is the Body, a corpse from the first, and the soul knows itself best to be a corpse-bearer when perfected (65 ff.).

How the God of Goodness came to create Er and the Serpent, we are not told. We *are* told that creation is due to the goodness of God (75 ff.).

And the Book of the Law affords many examples of wide divergence in original endowments. *Noah* "finds grace in the sight of the Lord," and *Melchizedeck* is made His "Priest" and "King of peace," no previous merit being mentioned in either case (79 ff.). (Philo stops to contrast M. with the Moabites and Ammonites, who failed to bring forth bread and *water*, Deut. xxiii. 3 f.) *Abram* was created good, and led to a better city. *Isaac*, who is compared with Hope, was richly endowed before birth. The lots of *Jacob* and *Esau* were told when they were unborn (82). *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* have names denoting, the one Memory and its Fruitfulness, the other escape only from Forgetfulness (94). *Bezalel* called to a position, which he is not said to have earned, bears a name meaning "In the shadow of God" and is taught by Moses, while Moses is taught by God. In view of all this we must pray and ponder God's goodness (95-103).

D. The Curse on Pleasure. Gen. iii. 14 (107-199).

Its Ground, 107-110.
Its Fitness, 111-114.
Its Content, 115-199.

Content of the Curse—115-159. Posture and Motion.

(*a*) *On the Breast* (115-137).

The Breast the seat of high spirit—the Urim and Thummim there point to Aaron's *control* of high spirit which Moses wholly *exscinds* (Lev. viii. 29).

(*b*) *On the Belly.*

(α) Appropriate to Pleasure whose lover goes "on" or "after" the belly and the four passions (138 f.).

(β) The perfect man contrasted with the man of gradual improvement in their dealing with self-indulgence (140-144).

(γ) The belly the basis of all passions (145-150).

Note.—Breast *cut out*, while the belly is *washed*, for it is indispensable (147).

(δ) Bodily necessity compels us to go forth from the house of wisdom — girded with Reason—putting out of sight all that is unreasonable (151-158).

161-181. Food.

The earthy body feeds on earth.—

Contrast of the "Bread out of Heaven," "the day's portion for the day," like dew— prolific as coriander seed like hoar-frost, called "What is it?" (Deut. viii. 3).

Contrast "The God who feedeth me," said by *Jacob*, with "*I* will nourish thee," by Joseph — true son of Rachel ("Give me children").

Enmity (182-199).

The Combatants (185-187).
Their Warfare (188).
Jacob grips the heel of Esau, the man who says "Mine," a word for God only to use (189-199).

E. The Discipline. Gen. iii. 16-19 (200-253).

(*a*) Of the Woman (Gen. iii. 16) (200-245).

(α) Grief the lot of Sense-perception (200).

Contrast God confirming *good* to Abraham by an oath (201-203).

Discussion of oath taken by God (204-208).

Groaning—good and bad (211 continued from 200).

(β) Subjection to her husband (220 ff.).

Num. xxi. 27 ff., the women adding to the fire. *Potiphar's wife* contrasted with Joseph and Phinehas. *Sarah.* Hagar (224 ff.).

(*b*) Of the Man (Gen. iii. 17 ff.) (246-253).

Due to Serpent. Thorns. Grass. Return to Earth.

Γ

1 [87] I. "Καὶ ἐκρύβησαν ὅ τε Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ παραδείσου" (Gen. iii. 8). [a]δόγμα εἰσηγεῖται διδάσκον, ὅτι ὁ φαῦλος φυγάς ἐστιν. εἰ γὰρ πόλις οἰκεία τῶν σοφῶν ἡ ἀρετή, ταύτης ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος μετέχειν ἀπελήλαται πόλεως, ἧς ἀδυνατεῖ μετέχειν ὁ φαῦλος· ἀπελήλαται ἄρα καὶ πεφυγάδευται μόνος ὁ φαῦλος. ὁ δ' ἀρετῆς φυγὰς εὐθὺς ἀποκέκρυπται θεόν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐμφανεῖς οἱ σοφοὶ θεῷ, ἅτε ὄντες αὐτῷ φίλοι, δῆλον ὡς ἀποκρύπτονται καὶ καταδύονται πάντες οἱ φαῦλοι, ὡς
2 ἂν ἐχθροὶ καὶ δυσμενεῖς ὄντες ὀρθῷ λόγῳ. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἄπολις καὶ ἄοικος ὁ φαῦλός ἐστι, μαρτυρεῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ δασέος καὶ ποικίλου τὴν κακίαν Ἠσαῦ, ὅτε φησίν· "ἦν δὲ Ἠσαῦ εἰδὼς κυνηγεῖν, ἀγροῖκος" (Gen. xxv. 27). οὐ γὰρ πέφυκεν ἡ τῶν παθῶν θηρευτικὴ κακία τὴν ἀρετῆς πόλιν οἰκεῖν ἀγροικίαν καὶ ἀπαιδευσίαν μετὰ πολλῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης μεταδιώκουσα. ὁ δέ γε σοφίας
[88] μεστὸς Ἰακὼβ καὶ πολίτης | ἐστὶ καὶ οἰκίαν τὴν ἀρετὴν κατοικεῖ· φησὶ γοῦν περὶ αὐτοῦ· "Ἰακὼβ δὲ ἄπλαστος ἄνθρωπος οἰκῶν οἰκίαν" (ib.).

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[a] See App. p. 482.

BOOK III

I. "And Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God in the midst of the forest of the garden" (Gen. iii. 8). He introduces a doctrine showing that the bad man is an exile. For if virtue is a city peculiar to the wise, the man who has no capacity to partake of virtue has been driven away from the city, in which the bad man is incapable of taking part. It is accordingly the bad man only who has been driven away and sent into exile. But the exile from virtue has by incurring such exile hidden himself from God. For if the wise, as being His friends, are in God's sight, it is evident that all bad men slink away and hide from Him, as is to be expected in men who cherish hatred and ill-will to right reason. The prophet, moreover, finds proof that the bad man is without city or dwelling-house, in the account of Esau, the hairy man, crafty in wickedness, when he says, "Esau was skilled in hunting, a countryman" (Gen. xxv. 27); for vice, that hunts after the passions, is by nature unfit to dwell in the city of virtue. Rather, in utter senselessness, it follows after rustic[a] grossness, the life of the untrained. Jacob, the man full of wisdom, belongs to a city, and as a dwelling-house he occupies virtue. The prophet says of him: "But Jacob was a simple man dwelling in a house"

3 παρὸ καὶ "αἱ μαῖαι, ἐπειδὴ ἐφοβοῦντο τὸν θεόν, ἐποίησαν ἑαυταῖς οἰκίας" (Exod. i. 21)· αἱ γὰρ ζητητικαὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν θεοῦ μυστηρίων, ὅπερ ἐστὶ "ζῳογονεῖν τὰ ἄρσενα," οἰκοδομοῦσι τὰ ἀρετῆς πράγματα, οἷς καὶ ἐνοικεῖν προῄρηνται. διὰ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐπιδέδεικται, πῶς ὁ μὲν φαῦλος ἄπολίς τέ ἐστι καὶ ἄοικος, φυγὰς ἀρετῆς ὤν, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος καὶ πόλιν ἔχειν καὶ οἶκον σοφίαν κεκλήρωται.

4 II. Ἴδωμεν δὲ ἑξῆς, πῶς καὶ ἀποκρύπτεσθαί τις θεὸν λέγεται. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀλληγορήσειέ τις, ἀδύνατον παραδέξασθαι τὸ προκείμενον· πάντα γὰρ πεπλήρωκεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ διὰ πάντων διελήλυθεν καὶ κενὸν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἔρημον ἀπολέλοιπεν ἑαυτοῦ. ποῖον δή τις τόπον ἐφέξει, ἐν ᾧ οὐχὶ θεός ἐστι; μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις λέγων "ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι πλὴν αὐτοῦ" (Deut. iv. 39). καὶ πάλιν· "ὧδε ἕστηκα πρὸ τοῦ σε" (Exod. xvii. 6)· πρὸ γὰρ παντὸς γενητοῦ ὁ θεός ἐστι, καὶ εὑρίσκεται πανταχοῦ, ὥστε οὐκ ἂν δύναιτό τις ἀποκρύπτεσθαι.

5 καὶ τί θαυμάζομεν; τῶν γὰρ γενομένων τὰ συνεκτικώτατα οὐδ᾽ ἄν, εἴ τι γένοιτο, ἐκφεύγειν καὶ ἀποκρύπτεσθαι δυνηθείημεν, οἷον γῆν φυγέτω τις ἢ ὕδωρ ἢ ἀέρα ἢ οὐρανὸν ἢ τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐν τούτοις περιέχεσθαι, οὐ γὰρ ἔξω

6 γέ τις τοῦ κόσμου φεύγειν δυνήσεται. εἶτα <μὴ> τὰ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου μηδὲ τὸν κόσμον αὐτὸν δυνάμενός τις ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἂν ἰσχύσαι

(*ibid.*). It accords with this too that the midwives, since they feared God, made houses for themselves (Exod. i. 21); for such (souls) as make a quest of God's hidden mysteries—and this is what is meant by "saving the males' lives" or "bringing the males to the birth"—build up the cause of virtue, and in this they have elected to have their abode. By these instances it has been made clear how the bad man is without a city or home, being an exile from virtue, while the good man has received it as his lot to have wisdom for both city and dwelling.

II. Let us see next how a man is said actually to hide himself from God. Were one not to take the language as figurative, it would be impossible to accept the statement, for God fills and penetrates all things, and has left no spot void or empty of His presence. What manner of place then shall a man occupy, in which God is not? The prophet elsewhere bears witness of this saying, "God in heaven above and upon the earth beneath and there is none else but He" (Deut. iv. 39). And again, "Here stand I before thou (wert made)" (Exod. xvii. 6); for before every created thing God is, and is found everywhere, so that no one could possibly hide himself from God. And why should we marvel at this? Whatever should happen, we could never escape or hide ourselves from those, even among things created, that are essential elements of creation. For instance, let a man fly, if he can, from earth or water or air or sky or the world at large. A man must needs have all these round him, for no one shall ever be able to escape out of the world. Then, seeing a man is powerless to hide himself from the parts of the world or from the world itself, would he

λανθάνειν; οὐδαμῶς. τί οὖν τὸ "ἐκρύβησαν"; ὁ φαῦλος δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸν θεὸν ἐν τόπῳ, μὴ περιέχοντα, ἀλλὰ περιεχόμενον· οὗ χάριν καὶ οἴεται ἀποκρύπτεσθαι, ὡς κατ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος οὐκ ὄντος τοῦ αἰτίου, καθ' ὃ φωλεύειν διέγνωκεν.

7 III. ἔστι δὲ οὕτως ἐκδέξασθαι· ἐν τῷ φαύλῳ ἡ ἀληθὴς περὶ θεοῦ δόξα ἐπεσκίασται καὶ ἀποκρύπτεται, σκότους γὰρ πλήρης ἐστὶ μηδὲν ἔχων ἐναύγασμα θεῖον, ᾧ τὰ ὄντα περισκέψεται· ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος πεφυγάδευται θείου χοροῦ, καθάπερ ὁ λεπρὸς καὶ γονορρυής, ὁ μὲν θεὸν καὶ γένεσιν, ἀντιπάλους φύσεις, δύο χρωμάτων ὄντων, ἀγαγὼν εἰς ταὐτὸ ὡς αἴτια, ἑνὸς ὄντος αἰτίου τοῦ δρῶντος, ὁ δὲ γονορρυὴς ἐκ κόσμου πάντα καὶ εἰς κόσμον ἀνάγων, ὑπὸ θεοῦ δὲ μηδὲν οἰόμενος γεγονέναι, Ἡρακλειτείου δόξης ἑταῖρος, κόρον | καὶ χρησμοσύνην καὶ [89]
8 ἓν τὸ πᾶν καὶ πάντα ἀμοιβῇ εἰσάγων. διό φησι καὶ ὁ θεῖος λόγος· "ἐξαποστειλάτωσαν ἐκ τῆς ἁγίου ψυχῆς πάντα λεπρὸν καὶ πάντα γονορρυῆ καὶ πάντα ἀκάθαρτον ἐν ψυχῇ, ἀπὸ ἀρσενικοῦ ἕως θηλυκοῦ" (Num. v. 2), καὶ τοὺς θλαδίας καὶ ἀποκεκομμένους τὰ γεννητικὰ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ πόρνους τὴν ἑνὸς ἀρχὴν ἀποδιδράσκοντας, οἷς ἄντικρυς ἀπείρηται εἰς ἐκκλησίαν θεοῦ φοιτᾶν
9 (Deut. xxiii. 2). οἱ δέ γε σοφοὶ λογισμοὶ οὐχ οἷον ἀποκρύπτονται, ἀλλ' ἐμφανεῖς εἶναι γλίχονται. οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι ὁ Ἀβραὰμ "ἔτι ἦν ἑστηκὼς ἐνώπιον

[a] See App. p. 482.

[b] Literally "there being two colours." See Lev. xiii. 9-17. 'Raw flesh' and 'white' would seem to be the "two colours."

be able to escape the eye of God? By no means. Why then does it say "they hid themselves"? The bad man thinks that God is in a place, not containing but contained; and for this reason he imagines that he can hide from Him, fancying that God, the Author of all things, is not in that part, which he has chosen for his lurking-place. III. It is possible to take it in this way. In the bad man the true opinion concerning God is hidden in obscurity, for he is full of darkness with no divine radiance in him, whereby to investigate realities. Such an one is in banishment from the divine company, like the leper and the man with an issue.[a] The former combines as joint causes God and creation, which are natures mutually hostile, for he shows two different colours,[b] whereas there is one single Cause, even He who doeth all. The man with an issue, on the other hand, deriving everything from the world, and making it return into the world, imagines that nothing has been created by God, associating himself with the opinion of Heracleitus, in his advocacy of such tenets as "fullness and want," "the universe one," and "all things interchange." So the divine word saith, "Let them send forth out of the holy soul every leper, and everyone that hath an issue, and everyone that is unclean in soul, both male and female (Numb. v. 2), and eunuchs with the generative organs of the soul cut away, and fornicators, deserters from the rule of One, to whom entrance into the assembly of God is absolutely forbidden (Deut. xxiii. 2). But wise reasonings, so far from hiding themselves, are keenly desirous to be manifest. Do you not see that Abraham "was still standing before the Lord and drew nigh and

κυρίου καὶ ἐγγίσας εἶπε Μὴ συναπολέσῃς δίκαιον μετὰ ἀσεβοῦς" (Gen. xviii. 22, 23), τὸν ἐμφανῆ σοι καὶ γνώριμον μετὰ τοῦ φεύγοντός σε καὶ ἀποδιδράσκοντος; οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ἀσεβής, δίκαιος δὲ ὁ ἑστηκὼς ἐναντίον σου καὶ μὴ φεύγων· σὲ
10 γάρ, ὦ δέσποτα, τιμᾶσθαι δίκαιον μόνον. οὐχ ὥσπερ δὲ ἀσεβής, οὕτω καὶ εὐσεβής τις εὑρίσκεται, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητόν, εἰ δίκαιος, οὗ χάριν φησί· "μὴ συναπολέσῃς δίκαιον μετὰ ἀσεβοῦς." ἀξίως γὰρ οὐδεὶς τὸν θεὸν τιμᾷ, ἀλλὰ δικαίως μόνον· ὁπότε γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἴσας ἀποδοῦναι χάριτας ἐνδέχεται—ἀντιγεννῆσαι γὰρ οὐχ οἷόν τε τούτους—πῶς οὐκ ἀδύνατον τὸν θεὸν ἀμείψασθαι ἢ ἐπαινέσαι κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τὸν τὰ ὅλα συστησάμενον ἐκ μὴ ὄντων; πᾶσαν γὰρ ἀρετὴν παρέσχετο.

11 IV. Τρεῖς οὖν καιρούς, ὦ ψυχή, τουτέστι τὸν τριμερῆ χρόνον σύμπαντα ἐμφανὴς αἰεὶ γίνου θεῷ, μὴ τὸ θῆλυ αἰσθητὸν πάθος ἐφελκομένη, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀνδρεῖον καὶ καρτερίας ἀσκητὴν λογισμὸν ἐκθυμιῶσα· τρισὶ γὰρ καιροῖς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὀφθῆναι πᾶν ἀρσενικὸν ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰσραὴλ
12 ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος προστάττει (Deut. xvi. 16). διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Μωυσῆς, ὅτε ἐμφανὴς καθίσταται θεῷ, φεύγει τὸν διασκεδαστὴν τρόπον Φαραώ, ὃς αὐχεῖ λέγων μὴ εἰδέναι τὸν κύριον (Exod. v. 2)· "ἀνεχώρησε" γάρ φησι "Μωυσῆς ἀπὸ προσώπου Φαραὼ καὶ κατῴκησεν ἐν γῇ Μαδιάμ" (Exod. ii. 15), τῇ κρίσει

said, 'Destroy Thou not the just man together with the impious one'" (Gen. xviii. 22 f.), the one that is manifest and known to Thee together with him who shuns and avoids Thee? For this one is impious, but he that stands before Thee and avoids Thee not is just. For the only justice is that Thou, O Master, shouldst be honoured. A pious man is not found with the same ease as an impious one. We have to be content with a just man. This is why he says, "Destroy not a just together with an impious man." For no one honours God as He deserves but only as is just. It is impossible to requite even our parents with boons equal to those which we have received from them—for it is out of the question to requite by becoming their parents. How must it not be impossible to recompense or to praise as He deserves Him who brought the universe out of non-existence? For it was an exercise towards us of every virtue.

IV. Through three seasons, then, O soul, that is throughout the whole of time with its threefold divisions, make thyself ever manifest to God, not dragging after thee the weak feminine passion of sense-perception, but giving forth as incense the manly reasoning schooled in fortitude. For the sacred word (Deut. xvi. 16) enjoins that at three seasons of the year every male is to show himself before the Lord the God of Israel. For this reason Moses also, when he is being established as one standing open before God, avoids Pharaoh, the symbol of dispersion, for he boasts saying that he knows not the Lord (Exod. v. 2). "Moses," we read, "withdrew from Pharaoh's presence and settled in the land of Midian" (Exod. ii. 15), or

τῶν φύσεως πραγμάτων, “καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ
φρέατος,” ἐκδεχόμενος τί ὁ θεὸς ἀνομβρήσει
πότιμον τῇ διψώσῃ καὶ ποθούσῃ ψυχῇ τὸ ἀγαθόν.
13 ἀναχωρεῖ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀθέου καὶ ἡγεμονίδος
τῶν παθῶν δόξης Φαραώ, ἀναχωρεῖ δὲ εἰς Μαδιάμ,
τὴν κρίσιν, ἐξετάζων πότερον ἠρεμητέον αὐτῷ |
[90] ἐστιν ἢ δικαστέον πάλιν πρὸς τὸν φαῦλον ἐπ᾽
ὀλέθρῳ αὐτοῦ· σκέπτεται δέ, εἰ ἐπιθέμενος ἰσχύσει
νικηφορῆσαι, παρὸ καὶ κατέχεται ὑπομένων, ὡς
ἔφην, εἰ ἀναδώσει ὁ θεὸς τῷ βαθεῖ καὶ μὴ κούφῳ
λογισμῷ πηγὴν ἱκανὴν ἐπικλύσαι τὴν φορὰν τοῦ
14 Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέως, τῶν παθῶν αὐτοῦ. ἀξιοῦται
μέντοι τῆς χάριτος· στρατευσάμενος γὰρ στρατείαν
τὴν ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς οὐ παύεται πολεμῶν, πρὶν ἐπιδεῖν
πρηνεῖς καὶ ἀπράκτους τὰς ἡδονάς. οὗ χάριν οὐ
φεύγει Μωυσῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Φαραώ, ἀνεπιστρεπτὶ
γὰρ ἂν ἀπεδίδρασκεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀναχωρεῖ, τουτέστιν
ἀνακωχὴν ποιεῖται τοῦ πολέμου ἀθλητοῦ τρόπον
διαπνέοντος καὶ συλλεγομένου τὸ πνεῦμα, μέχρις
ἂν ἐγείρας τὴν φρονήσεως καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς
συμμαχίαν διὰ λόγων θείων μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐρ-
ρωμενεστάτης ἐπίθηται.
15 Ὁ δὲ Ἰακώβ, πτερνιστὴς γάρ ἐστι, μεθόδοις
καὶ τέχναις τὴν ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἀκονιτὶ κτώμενος—
οὐ γὰρ μετωνόμαστό πω εἰς τὸν Ἰσραήλ—ἀπο-
διδράσκει τῶν κατὰ Λάβαν πραγμάτων, τουτέστι
χρωμάτων καὶ σχημάτων καὶ συνόλως σωμάτων,
ἃ τὸν νοῦν διὰ τῶν αἰσθητῶν τιτρώσκειν πέφυκεν·
ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτὰ νικῆσαι παρὼν κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς

in the examination of the things of nature, "and sat on the well," waiting to see what draught God would send to quench the thirst of his soul in its longing for that which is good. So he withdraws from the godless opinion of Pharaoh, which the passions follow as their leader, and withdraws into Midian, the sifting-place, to inquire whether he is to be still or to dispute again with the evil man for his destruction; he considers whether, if he attack him, he shall prevail to win the victory, and so he is kept there waiting upon God, as I have said, to see whether He will bestow upon a deep reasoning faculty free from shallowness a stream sufficient to drown the onrush of the king of the Egyptians, the onrush, that is, of his passions. And he is deemed worthy of the boon: for, having taken the field in the cause of virtue, he does not abandon the warfare till he beholds the pleasures prostrate and out of action. This is why Moses does not fly from Pharaoh, for that would have been to run away and not return, but, like an athlete taking an interval to regain his breath, "withdraws," that is, brings about a cessation of arms, until he shall by divine words have raised forces of wisdom and every other virtue to aid him in renewing the attack with irresistible power.

But Jacob, "Supplanter" that he is, acquiring virtue with great toil by wiles and artifices, his name having not yet been changed into "Israel," runs away from Laban and all his belongings, tints and shapes and material bodies generally, whose nature it is to inflict wounds on the mind through the objects of sense. For since when facing them he was not able completely to vanquish them, he

οὐκ ἠδύνατο, φεύγει δεδιὼς τὴν πρὸς αὐτῶν ἧτταν· καὶ σφόδρα ἐπαίνων ἄξιος· "εὐλαβεῖς" γάρ φησι Μωυσῆς "ποιήσετε τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ ὁρῶντος" (Lev. xv. 31), ἀλλ' οὐ θρασεῖς καὶ τῶν μὴ καθ'
16 αὑτοὺς ἐρῶντας. V. "καὶ ἔκρυψεν Ἰακὼβ Λάβαν τὸν Σύρον τοῦ μὴ ἀναγγεῖλαι αὐτῷ ὅτι ἀποδιδράσκει. καὶ ἀπέδρα αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ πάντα, καὶ διέβη τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ὥρμησεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος Γαλαάδ" (Gen. xxxi. 20, 21). φυσικώτατόν ἐστι τὸ κρύπτειν ὅτι ἀποδιδράσκει καὶ μὴ ἀναγγέλλειν τῷ ἠρτημένῳ τῶν αἰσθητῶν λογισμῷ Λάβαν· οἷον ἐὰν κάλλος ἰδὼν αἱρεθῇς αὐτῷ καὶ μέλλῃς πταίειν περὶ αὐτό, φύγε λαθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς φαντασίας αὐτοῦ καὶ μηκέτι ἀναγγείλῃς τῷ νῷ, τουτέστι μὴ ἐπιλογίσῃ πάλιν μηδὲ μελετήσῃς· αἱ γὰρ συνεχεῖς ὑπομνήσεις τύπους ἐγχαράττουσαι τρανοὺς βλάπτουσι τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ἄκουσαν αὐτὴν <πολλάκις>
17 περιτρέπουσιν. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν καθ' ἡντινοῦν αἴσθησιν ὁλκῶν· ἐν γὰρ τούτοις σώτειρα ἡ λαθραία φυγή, τὸ δ' ὑπομιμνῄσκεσθαι καὶ ἀναγγέλλειν καὶ ἀναπολεῖν κρατεῖ καὶ δουλοῦται βιαίως τὸν λογισμόν. μηδέποτ' οὖν, ὦ διάνοια, τὸ φανὲν αἰσθητόν, εἰ μέλλεις ἁλίσκεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἀναγγείλῃς σαυτῇ μηδὲ ἀναπολήσῃς αὐτό, ἵνα μὴ κρατηθεῖσα κακοδαιμονῇς· ἀλλ' ἄφετος ὁρμήσασα ἀπόδραθι ἐλευθερίαν ἀτίθασον δουλείας χειροήθους προκρίνουσα.

[a] See App. p. 482.

flies, fearing defeat at their hands. And in doing so he is thoroughly deserving of praise; for Moses says, "Ye shall make the sons of the seeing one cautious" (Lev. xv. 31), not bold and aiming at what is beyond their capacity. V. "And Jacob stole away unawares to Laban the Syrian, in that he told him not that he fled.[a] So he fled with all that he had; and passed over the river, and set his face toward the mountain of Gilead" (Gen. xxxi. 20 f.). It is thoroughly in accordance with true principles that he is said to have concealed the fact that he is running away and not made it known to Laban, who represents the way of thinking governed by objects of sense. For instance, if thou hast caught sight of beauty and been captivated by it, and if it is like to be a cause of stumbling to thee, fly secretly from the vision of it, and give no further report of it to thy mind, that is to say, do not give it another thought or ponder it: for to keep on recalling anything is the way to engrave on the mind distinct outlines of it, which injure the mind and often bring it to ruin against its will. The same principle holds in the case of every kind of attraction by the avenue of whatever sense it may reach us; for here safety lies in secret flight; but recalling the attractive object in memory, telling of it, turning it over, spells conquest and harsh slavery for our reasoning faculty. If, therefore, O my mind, thou art in imminent danger of falling a prey to some object of sense that has shown itself, never report it to thyself, never dwell on it, lest thou be overcome and plunged into misery. Nay, rush forth at large, make thy escape, choose the freedom of the wild rather than the slavery of the tame.

18 VI. Διὰ τί δὲ νῦν ὡς ἀγνοοῦντος τοῦ Ἰακώβ,
ὅτι Σύρος ὁ Λάβαν ἐστί, φησὶν “ἔκρυψε δὲ Ἰακὼβ
[91] Λάβαν τὸν Σύρον”; ἔχει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο οὐ |
πάρεργον λόγον· Συρία γὰρ ἑρμηνεύεται μετέωρα·
ὁ ἀσκητὴς οὖν Ἰακὼβ νοῦς, ὅτε μὲν ὁρᾷ ταπεινὸν
τὸ πάθος, περιμένει λογιζόμενος αὐτὸ νικήσειν
κατὰ κράτος, ὅτε δὲ μετέωρον καὶ ὑψαυχενοῦν
καὶ ὑπέρογκον, ἀποδιδράσκει τε ὁ νοῦς ὁ ἀσκητὴς
πρῶτος, εἶτα καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ πάντα μέρη τῆς
ἀσκήσεως, ἀναγνώσεις, μελέται, θεραπεῖαι, τῶν
καλῶν μνῆμαι, ἐγκράτεια, τῶν καθηκόντων ἐνέρ-
γειαι, καὶ διαβαίνει τὸν τῶν αἰσθητῶν ποταμὸν
τὸν ἐπικλύζοντα καὶ βαπτίζοντα τῇ φορᾷ τῶν
παθῶν τὴν ψυχήν, καὶ ὁρμᾷ διαβὰς εἰς τὸν ὑψηλὸν
καὶ μετέωρον <τόπον> τὸν λόγον τῆς τελείας
19 ἀρετῆς· “ὥρμησε γὰρ εἰς τὸ ὄρος Γαλαάδ,”
ἑρμηνεύεται δὲ μετοικία μαρτυρίας, τοῦ θεοῦ
μετοικίσαντος τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ Λάβαν
παθῶν καὶ μαρτυρήσαντος αὐτῇ μετανάστασιν,
ὅτι λυσιτελὴς καὶ συμφέρουσα, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν
ταπεινὴν καὶ χαμαίζηλον ἀπεργαζομένων τὴν
ψυχὴν κακῶν εἰς ὕψος καὶ μέγεθος ἀρετῆς προ-
άγοντος.

20 Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ φίλος τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ κατ᾽
αὐτὰς ἀλλὰ μὴ κατὰ νοῦν ἐνεργῶν Λάβαν ἀγα-
νακτεῖ καὶ διώκει καί φησιν· “ἵνα τί κρυφῇ
ἀπέδρας” (Gen. xxxi. 26), ἀλλ᾽ οὐ παρέμεινας
τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀπολαύσει καὶ τῷ δόγματι τῷ
<τὰ> περὶ σῶμα καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς ἀγαθὰ κρίνοντι;
ἀλλὰ καὶ φεύγων ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς δόξης ἐσύλησάς

VI. Now (let us ask) why, as though Jacob were not aware that Laban was a Syrian, does he say, "Jacob kept Laban the Syrian in the dark"? In this likewise there is a point not without pertinence. For "Syria" means "Highlands." Jacob, therefore, the mind in training, when he sees passion grovelling low before him, awaits its onset calculating that he will master it by force, but when it is seen to be lofty, stately, weighty, the first to run away is the mind in training, followed by all his belongings, being portions of his discipline, readings, ponderings, acts of worship, and of remembrance of noble souls, self-control, discharge of daily duties; he crosses the river of objects of sense, that swamps and drowns the soul under the flood of the passions, and, when he has crossed it, sets his face for the lofty high-land, the principle of perfect virtue: "for he set his face towards the mountain of Gilead." The meaning of this name is "migration of witness"; for God caused the soul to migrate from the passions that are represented by Laban, and bore witness to it how greatly to its advantage and benefit its removal was, and led it on away from the evil things that render the soul low and grovelling up to the height and greatness of virtue.

For this reason Laban, the friend of the senses and the man whose actions are regulated by them and not by the mind, is vexed, and pursues him, and says, "Why didst thou run away secretly" (Gen. xxxi. 26), but didst not remain in the company of bodily enjoyment and of the teaching that gives the preference to bodily and external good things? But in addition to fleeing from this view of life, thou

μου καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν, Λείαν τε καὶ Ῥαχήλ· αὗται γάρ, ἡνίκα παρέμενον τῇ ψυχῇ, φρένας ἐνεποίουν ταύτῃ, μεταναστᾶσαι δὲ ἀμαθίαν καὶ ἀπαιδευσίαν αὐτῇ κατέλιπον· διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει ὅτι "ἐκλοποφόρησάς με" (ib.), τουτέστι τὸ φρονεῖν ἔκλεψας.

21 VII. τί οὖν ἦν τὸ φρονεῖν, ἐξηγήσεται· ἐπιφέρει γάρ· "καὶ ἀπήγαγες τὰς θυγατέρας μου ὡς αἰχμαλώτιδας· καὶ εἰ ἀνήγγειλάς μοι, ἐξαπέστειλα ἄν σε" (ib.). οὐκ ἂν ἐξαπέστειλας τὰ μαχόμενα ἀλλήλοις· εἰ γὰρ ἐξαπέστειλας ὄντως καὶ ἠλευθέρους τὴν ψυχήν, περιεῖλες ἂν αὐτῆς τοὺς σωματικοὺς καὶ αἰσθητικοὺς ἅπαντας ἤχους· οὕτως γὰρ ἀπολυτροῦται κακιῶν καὶ παθῶν διάνοια. νυνὶ δὲ λέγεις μέν, ὡς ἐξαποστέλλεις ἐλευθέραν, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἔργων ὁμολογεῖς, ὅτι κατέσχες ἂν ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ· εἰ γὰρ "μετὰ μουσικῶν καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ κιθάρας" καὶ τῶν καθ᾽ ἑκάστην αἴσθησιν ἡδονῶν προὔπεμπες, οὐκ ἂν ὄντως ἐξ-
22 απέστειλας. οὐ γὰρ μόνον σέ, ὦ σωμάτων καὶ χρωμάτων ἑταῖρε Λάβαν, ἀποδιδράσκομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τὰ σά, ἐν οἷς καὶ αἱ τῶν αἰσθήσεων φωναὶ ταῖς τῶν παθῶν ἐνεργείαις συνηχοῦσαι· μεμελετήκαμεν γάρ, εἴ γε ἀρετῆς ἐσμεν ἀσκηταί, μελέτην ἀναγκαίαν, ἣν καὶ Ἰακὼβ ἐμελέτησεν,
[92] ἀπολλύναι καὶ διαφθείρειν | τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τῆς

[a] Both in Hebrew and in Greek "to steal the mind" means "to deceive." Philo probably knew that in Gen. xxxi. 20 "stole away unawares to" is in the Hebrew "stole the mind of." In *v.* 26 (27) the LXX. renders by ἐκλοποφόρησάς με the Hebrew "didst steal me," which in E.V. is rendered "didst steal away from me." Philo can hardly have got τὸ φρονεῖν except from the Hebrew phrase of *v.* 20, or its Greek equivalent.

didst carry off my soundness of sense [a] as well, Leah and Rachel to wit. For these, while they remained with the soul, produced in it sound sense, but when they removed elsewhither they left behind to it ignorance and indiscipline. This is why he adds the words "thou didst rob me" (*ibid.*), that is, didst steal my good sense. VII. What, then, his good sense was, he is going to explain; for he adds "and didst carry away my daughters as prisoners of war: and if thou hadst told me, I would have sent thee forth" (*ibid.*). Thou wouldst not have sent forth those at variance one with another; [b] for hadst thou really sent forth and liberated the soul, thou wouldst have stripped from it all voices belonging to the body and senses: for it is in this way that the understanding is delivered from vices and passions. But as it is, thou *sayest* that thou art ready to send her forth free, but by thy actions thou ownest that thou wouldst have detained her in prison; for if thou hadst sent her on her way with "music and tabrets and harp" and the pleasures that suit each several sense, thou wouldst not really have sent her forth at all. For it is not from thee only, O Laban, friend of bodies and of tints, that we are running away, but from all too that is thine: and this includes the voices of the senses sounding in harmony with the operations of the passions. For we have made our own, if so be that we are under virtue's training, a study absolutely vital which was Jacob's study also, to consign to death and destruction the gods that

[b] The things mutually at variance are true "well-being" and the lower delights, represented by the "music and tabrets and harp," which, as Philo takes it, are to go with those released.

ψυχῆς [τοὺς] θεούς, τοὺς χωνευτοὺς θεούς, οὓς ἀπηγόρευκε Μωυσῆς δημιουργεῖν (Lev. xix. 4)· οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν ἀρετῆς μὲν καὶ εὐπαθείας διάλυσις, κακίας δὲ καὶ παθῶν σύστασίς τε καὶ πῆξις, τὸ γὰρ χεόμενον διαλυθὲν αὖθις πήγνυται.

23 VIII. Λέγει δὲ οὕτως· "καὶ ἔδωκαν Ἰακὼβ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους, οἳ ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ ἐνώτια τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὠσὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ κατέκρυψεν αὐτὰ Ἰακὼβ ὑπὸ τὴν τερέβινθον τὴν ἐν Σικίμοις" (Gen. xxxv 4). οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶ τῶν φαύλων θεοί. ὁ δὲ Ἰακὼβ οὐ λέγεται λαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ κρύπτειν καὶ ἀπολλύναι· πάντῃ διηκριβωμένως· ὁ γὰρ ἀστεῖος οὐδὲν λήψεται πρὸς περιουσίαν τῶν ἀπὸ κακίας, ἀλλὰ κρύψει καὶ ἀφανιεῖ

24 λάθρᾳ· καθάπερ καὶ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ Σοδόμων βασιλεῖ τεχνάζοντι ἀλόγου φύσεως ποιήσασθαι ἀντίδοσιν πρὸς λογικήν, ἵππου πρὸς ἄνδρας,[a] φησὶ μηδὲν λήψεσθαι τῶν ἐκείνου, ἀλλ' "ἐκτενεῖν" τὴν ψυχικὴν πρᾶξιν, ὅπερ διὰ συμβόλου "χεῖρα" ὠνόμασε, "πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὕψιστον" (Gen. xiv. 22), μὴ γὰρ λήψεσθαι "ἀπὸ σπαρτίου ἕως σφαιρωτῆρος ὑποδήματος" ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐκείνου, ἵνα μὴ εἴπῃ πλούσιον πεποιηκέναι τὸν ὁρῶντα πενίαν ἀρετῆς τῆς πλουσίας ἀντιδιδούς.[b]

25 κρύπτεται μὲν ἀεὶ καὶ φυλάττεται τὰ πάθη ἐν Σικίμοις—ὠμίασις δὲ ἑρμηνεύεται, ὁ γὰρ πονούμενος περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς φυλακτικὸς τῶν ἡδονῶν ἐστιν—ἀπόλλυται δὲ καὶ διαφθείρεται παρὰ τῷ

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[a] In Gen. xiv. 21 the word rendered "goods" in E.V. can mean "cattle," and is translated in LXX. by τὴν ἵππον (collective for "horses"). See 197.

[b] *De Migratione Abrahami* 221.

are alien to the soul, the gods moulded in metal, the making of which Moses has forbidden (Lev. xix. 4); and these are a means of dissolving virtue and well-being, and a means of forming and giving fixity to wickedness and passions, for that which undergoes moulding, if dissolved, grows fixed and firm again.

VIII. We read as follows: "And they gave Jacob the strange gods, which were in their hands, and the ear-rings which were in their ears, and Jacob hid them under the terebinth that was in Shechem" (Gen. xxxv. 4). These are bad men's gods. And Jacob is not said to receive them, but to hide and destroy them. This is in every point perfectly accurate. For the man of sterling worth will take nothing to make him rich in the products of evil, but will hide them secretly and do away with them. In like manner when the king of Sodom is artfully attempting to effect an exchange of creatures without reason for reasonable beings, of horses for men,[a] Abraham says that he will take none of the things that are his but will "stretch out" his soul's operation, which he figuratively called his "hand," "to the Most High God" (Gen. xiv. 22), for that he would not take of all that was the king's "from a cord even to a shoelace," in order that he may not say that he has conferred wealth on the man whose eyes were open, by giving him poverty in return for his wealth of virtue. The passions are always hidden away and placed under guard in Shechem[b]—"shoulder"[c] is the meaning of the name—for he that devotes toil to pleasures is prone to keep pleasures well guarded. But in the case of the wise man the passions perish and are destroyed, not for

[c] Or "shouldering," *i.e.* 'toil.'

σοφῷ, οὐ πρὸς βραχύν τινα χρόνον, ἀλλ' "ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας," τουτέστιν ἀεί· ὁ γὰρ αἰὼν ἅπας τῷ σήμερον παραμετρεῖται, μέτρον γὰρ τοῦ
26 παντὸς χρόνου ὁ ἡμερήσιος κύκλος. διὸ καὶ ἐξαίρετον δίδωσι τῷ Ἰωσὴφ τὰ Σίκιμα ὁ Ἰακὼβ (Gen. xlviii. 22), τὰ σωματικὰ καὶ αἰσθητικά, μετιόντι τὸν ἐν τούτοις πόνον, τῷ δ' ἐξομολογουμένῳ Ἰούδᾳ οὐχὶ δόσεις, ἀλλὰ αἴνεσιν καὶ ὕμνους καὶ θεοπρεπεῖς ᾠδὰς πρὸς τῶν ἀδελφῶν (Gen. xlix. 8). τὰ δὲ Σίκιμα ὁ Ἰακὼβ λαμβάνει οὐ παρὰ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' "ἐν μαχαίρᾳ καὶ τόξοις," λόγοις τμητικοῖς καὶ ἀμυντηρίοις· ὑποτάττει γὰρ καὶ τὰ δεύτερα ἑαυτῷ ὁ σοφός, ὑποτάξας δὲ οὐ φυλάττει,
27 ἀλλὰ χαρίζεται τῷ πεφυκότι πρὸς αὐτά. οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δοκῶν λαμβάνειν οὐκ
[93] εἴληφεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπέκρυψε | καὶ ἠφάνισε καὶ διέφθειρε τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ; τίνι οὖν ψυχῇ ἀποκρύπτειν καὶ ἀφανίζειν κακίαν ἐγένετο, εἰ μὴ ᾗ ὁ θεὸς ἐνεφανίσθη, ἣν καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων μυστηρίων ἠξίωσε; φησὶ γάρ· "μὴ κρύψω ἐγὼ ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ τοῦ παιδός μου ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ;" (Gen. xviii. 17) εὖ, σῶτερ, ὅτι τὰ σεαυτοῦ ἔργα ἐπιδείκνυσαι τῇ ποθούσῃ τὰ καλὰ ψυχῇ καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτὴν τῶν σῶν ἔργων ἐπικέκρυψαι. τούτου χάριν ἰσχύει φεύγειν κακίαν καὶ ἀποκρύπτειν καὶ συσκιάζειν καὶ ἀπολλύναι ἀεὶ τὸ βλαβερὸν πάθος.
28 IX. Ὃν μὲν οὖν τρόπον φυγάς τέ ἐστιν ὁ φαῦλος καὶ ἀποκρύπτεται θεόν, δεδηλώκαμεν· νυνὶ δὲ

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[a] LXX. Σίκιμα ἐξαίρετον. R.V. (text) "one portion"; R.V. (margin) "one mountain slope." Heb. "Shechem" = "shoulder."

[b] See Gen. xxxv. 4.

some short period but "even to this day," that is, always. For the whole age of the world is made commensurate with to-day, for the daily cycle is the measure of all time. For this reason too Jacob gives as a special portion to Joseph Shechem (Gen. xlviii. 22),[a] the things of the body and of the senses, as he is occupied in toiling at these things, but to Judah who openly acknowledges God he gives not presents, but praise and hymns and hallowed songs from his brethren (Gen. xlix. 8). Jacob receives Shechem not from God, but by dint of "sword and bow," words that pierce and parry. For the wise man subjects to himself the secondary as well as the primary objects, but, having subjected them, does not keep them, but bestows them on him to whose nature they are akin. Mark you not that, in the case of the gods also, though apparently receiving them, he has not really done so, but hid them and did away with them and "destroyed" them for ever from himself?[b] What soul, then, was it that succeeded in hiding away wickedness and removing it from sight, but the soul to which God manifested Himself, and which He deemed worthy of His secret mysteries? For He says: "Shall I hide from Abraham My servant that which I am doing?" (Gen. xviii. 17). It is meet, O Saviour, that Thou displayest Thine own works to the soul that longs for all beauteous things, and that Thou hast concealed from it none of Thy works. That is why it is strong to shun evil and always to hide and becloud and destroy passion that works cruel havoc.

IX. In what manner, then, the bad man is in banishment and hiding himself from God we have

σκεψώμεθα, ὅπου ἀποκρύπτεται. "ἐν μέσῳ" φησί "τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ παραδείσου" (Gen. iii. 8), τουτέστι κατὰ μέσον τὸν νοῦν, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς μέσος ἐστὶν ὡσανεὶ παραδείσου τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς· ὁ γὰρ
29 ἀποδιδράσκων θεὸν καταφεύγει εἰς ἑαυτόν. δυοῖν γὰρ ὄντων τοῦ τε τῶν ὅλων νοῦ, ὅς ἐστι θεός, καὶ τοῦ ἰδίου, ὁ μὲν φεύγων ἀπὸ τοῦ καθ' αὑτὸν καταφεύγει ἐπὶ τὸν συμπάντων—ὁ γὰρ νοῦν τὸν ἴδιον ἀπολείπων ὁμολογεῖ μηδὲν εἶναι τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν, ἅπαντα δὲ προσάπτει θεῷ—ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἀποδιδράσκων θεὸν τὸν μὲν οὐδενὸς αἴτιόν φησιν εἶναι, τῶν δὲ γινομένων ἁπάντων
30 ἑαυτόν· λέγεται γοῦν παρὰ πολλοῖς, ὅτι τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πάντα φέρεται χωρὶς ἡγεμόνος ἀπαυτοματίζοντα, τέχνας δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ νόμους καὶ ἔθη καὶ πολιτικὰ καὶ ἴδια καὶ κοινὰ δίκαια πρός τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλογα
31 ζῷα ἔθετο μόνος ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς. ἀλλ' ὁρᾷς, ὦ ψυχή, τῶν δοξῶν τὸ παραλλάττον· ἡ μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἐπὶ μέρους τὸν γενητὸν καὶ θνητὸν ἀπολιποῦσα τὸν τῶν ὅλων καὶ ἀγένητον καὶ ἄφθαρτον ἐπιγράφεται ὄντως, ἡ δὲ πάλιν θεὸν ἀποδοκιμάζουσα τὸν μηδ' αὑτῷ βοηθῆσαι ἱκανὸν νοῦν σύμμαχον ἐπισπᾶται πλημμελῶς.

32 X. Τούτου χάριν καὶ Μωυσῆς φησιν ὅτι "ἐὰν <ἐν> τῷ διορύγματι εὑρεθῇ ὁ κλέπτης καὶ πληγεὶς ἀποθάνῃ, οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ φόνος· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἀνατείλῃ ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἔνοχός ἐστιν, ἀνταπο-

[a] See App. pp. 482, 483.

shown; let us consider now where he hides himself. "In the midst," it says, "of the wood of the garden" (Gen. iii. 8), that is in the centre of the mind, which in its turn is the centre of what we may call the garden of the whole soul: for he that runs away from God takes refuge in himself. There are two minds, that of the universe, which is God, and the individual mind. He that flees from his own mind flees for refuge to the Mind of all things. For he that abandons his own mind acknowledges all that makes the human mind its standard to be naught, and he refers all things to God. On the other hand he that runs away from God declares Him to be the cause of nothing, and himself to be the cause of all things that come into being. The view, for instance, is widely current that all things in the world tear along automatically independently of anyone to guide them, and that the human mind by itself established arts, professions, laws, customs, and rules of right treatment both of men and animals on the part of the state and in our conduct whether as individual persons or as members of communities. But thou perceivest, O my soul, the difference of the two opinions; for the one turns its back on the particular being, created and mortal mind, and whole-heartedly puts itself under the patronage of the universal Mind, uncreate and immortal; the other opinion on the contrary, rejects God, and by a grievous error calls in to share its warfare the mind that is insufficient even to help itself.

X. This is the ground for Moses' words, "If the thief be found where he has just broken through and be smitten and die, there is no blood-guiltiness for him[a]: but if the sun have risen upon him, (then he)

θανεῖται" (Exod. xxii. 1, 2). ἐὰν γάρ τις τὸν ἑστῶτα καὶ ὑγιῆ καὶ ὀρθὸν διακόψῃ καὶ διέλῃ λόγον, ὃς θεῷ μόνῳ τὸ πάντα δύνασθαι μαρτυρεῖ, καὶ εὑρεθῇ ἐν τῷ διορύγματι τουτέστιν ἐν τῷ τετρημένῳ καὶ διῃρημένῳ, ὃς τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν ἐνεργοῦντα οἶδεν, ἀλλ' οὐ θεόν, κλέπτης ἐστὶ τὰ
33 ἀλλότρια ἀφαιρούμενος· θεοῦ γὰρ τὰ πάντα κτήματα, ὥστε ὁ ἑαυτῷ τι προσνέμων τὰ ἑτέρου νοσφίζεται καὶ πληγὴν ἔχει παγχάλεπον καὶ δυσίατον, οἴησιν, πρᾶγμα ἀμαθίας καὶ ἀπαιδευσίας συγγενές. τὸν δὲ πλήττοντα παρησύχασεν· οὐ
[94] γάρ ἐστιν ἕτερος τοῦ πληττομένου· ἀλλ' | ὥσπερ ὁ τρίβων ἑαυτὸν καὶ τρίβεται καὶ ὁ ἐκτείνων ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐκτείνεται—τήν τε γὰρ τοῦ δρῶντος δύναμιν καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὑπομένοντος πάθος αὐτὸς[1] ἐκδέχεται—οὕτως ὁ κλέπτων τὰ θεοῦ καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἐπιγράφων ὑπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀθεότητός τε καὶ
34 οἰήσεως αἰκίζεται. εἴθε μέντοι πληχθεὶς ἀποθάνοι, τουτέστιν ἄπρακτος διατελέσειεν· ἧττον γὰρ ἁμαρτάνειν δόξει. τῆς γὰρ κακίας ἡ μὲν ἐν σχέσει θεωρεῖται, ἡ δὲ ἐν κινήσει θεωρεῖται· νεύει δὲ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἐκπληρώσεις ἡ ἐν τῷ κινεῖσθαι, διὸ καὶ χείρων τῆς κατὰ σχέσιν
35 ἐστίν. ἐὰν οὖν ἡ διάνοια ἀποθάνῃ ἡ δοξάζουσα αὑτὴν αἰτίαν τῶν γινομένων, ἀλλὰ μὴ θεόν, τουτέστιν ἠρεμήσῃ καὶ συσταλῇ, οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῇ φόνος· οὐκ ἀνῄρηκε τελέως τὸ ἔμψυχον δόγμα τὸ

[1] ? αὑτός.

[a] Or "comes to pass."

is liable, he shall die in requital" (Exod. xxii. 1 f.). For if a man cleave and break through the tenet that stands firm in its soundness and uprightness, testifying of unlimited power as belonging to God alone, and he be found where he has broken through, that is, in the pierced and cloven doctrine that is conscious of a man's own mind at work but not of God, he is a thief abstracting what belongs to another; for all things are God's possessions, so that he who assigns anything to himself is appropriating what is another's, and he receives a blow grievous and hard to be healed, even self-conceit, a thing akin to boorish ignorance. Moses does not make distinct mention of the man who strikes, for he is no other than the man who is struck; just as the man who rubs himself is also rubbed, and the man who stretches himself is also stretched; for in his own person he is at the same time active and passive, employs the force and submits to its effect. Even so he that steals what is God's and assigns it to himself, is the victim of the outrage inflicted by his own impiety and self-conceit. A good thing it would be should he die when struck, that is to say permanently fail of the accomplishment of his purpose; for he must then be held to be less a sinner. For wickedness presents itself now as stationary, now as moving. It is wickedness in motion that is ripe for filling up its full measure by carrying its designs to completion, and so it is worse than stationary wickedness. If, therefore, the understanding which fancies itself and not God to be the cause of all that comes into existence[a] die, that is, shrink into inactivity, blood-guiltiness does not pertain to it; it has not gone the full length of

θεῷ τὰς ἁπάσας δυνάμεις ἐπιγράφον· ἐὰν δὲ ἀνατείλῃ ὁ ἥλιος, τουτέστιν ὁ φαινόμενος λαμπρὸς νοῦς ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ δόξῃ πάντα διορᾶν καὶ πάντα βραβεύειν καὶ μηδὲν ἐκφεύγειν ἑαυτόν, ἔνοχός ἐστιν, ἀνταποθανεῖται τοῦ ἐμψύχου δόγματος ὃ ἀνεῖλε, καθ' ὃ μόνος αἴτιός ἐστιν ὁ θεός, εὑρισκόμενος ἄπρακτος καὶ νεκρὸς ὄντως αὐτός, ἀψύχου καὶ θνητοῦ καὶ πλημμελοῦς δόγματος εἰσηγητὴς γεγενημένος.

36 XI. Παρὸ καὶ καταρᾶται ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος τιθέντι ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ γλυπτὸν ἢ χωνευτόν, ἔργον χειρῶν τεχνίτου (Deut. xxvii. 15). τί γὰρ τὰς φαύλας δόξας, ὅτι ποιός ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς ὡς καὶ τὰ γλυπτὰ ὁ ἄποιος, ὅτι φθαρτὸς ὡς τὰ χωνευτὰ ὁ ἄφθαρτος, ταμιεύεις καὶ θησαυρίζεις, ὦ διάνοια, ἐν σαυτῇ, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς μέσον προφέρεις, ἵν' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσκητῶν τῆς ἀληθείας ἃ χρὴ διδαχθῇς; οἴει μὲν γὰρ τεχνική τις εἶναι, ὅτι κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀμούσους πιθανότητας μεμελέτηκας, ἄτεχνος δὲ ἀνευρίσκῃ νόσον χαλεπὴν ψυχῆς ἀμαθίαν οὐκ ἐθέλουσα θεραπεύεσθαι.

37 XII. Ὅτι δὲ ὁ φαῦλος εἰς τὸν σποράδα νοῦν ἑαυτοῦ καταδύεται φεύγων τὸν ὄντα, μαρτυρήσει Μωυσῆς ὁ "πατάξας τὸν Αἰγύπτιον καὶ κρύψας ἐν τῇ ἄμμῳ" (Exod. ii. 12), ὅπερ ἦν, συλλογισάμενος τὸν προστατεῖν λέγοντα <τὰ> τοῦ

abolishing the living doctrine which ascribes to God the totality of powers. But if the sun shall have risen, that is the mind that shines so brilliantly in us, and shall have conceived the notion that it discerns all things, and decides all things, and that nothing ever escapes it, he is guilty, he shall die in requital for the living doctrine which he destroyed, which acknowledges God as the sole Cause. For he is found futile and dead indeed in himself; he has come forward as the author of a lifeless, mortal, and erroneous doctrine.

XI. In keeping with this the sacred word pronounces a curse on one setting up in secret a graven or molten image, the work of the hands of the craftsman (Deut. xxvii. 15). For why, O mind, dost thou hoard and treasure in thyself those wrong opinions, that God is as the graven images are, of this or that kind, God the Being that is without kind, and that He the incorruptible is, as the molten images are, corruptible? Why dost thou not rather bring them forth into the open, to the end that thou mayest be taught the things which it behoves thee to learn from those who study the truth? For thou fanciest thyself one versed in science because thou hast conned over methods of persuasion unworthy of an educated man, wherewith to combat the truth. But thy science proves itself no science, in that thou refusest to submit to healing treatment of thy soul's sore malady of ignorance.

XII. That the bad man sinks down into his own incoherent mind as he strives to avoid Him that IS, we shall learn from Moses who "smote the Egyptian and hid him in the sand" (Exod. ii. 12). This means that he took full account of the man who maintains

σώματος καὶ μηδὲν τὰ ψυχῆς νομίζοντα καὶ τέλος
38 ἡγούμενον τὰς ἡδονάς· καταvοήσας γὰρ τὸν πόνον
τοῦ τὸν θεὸν ὁρῶντος, ὃν ἐπιτίθησιν αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἡ τῶν παθῶν ἡγεμονὶς κακία, ὁρᾷ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον ἄνθρωπον, τὸ ἀνθρώπειον καὶ ἐπίκηρον πάθος, τύπτοντα καὶ αἰκιζόμενον τὸν ὁρῶντα, περιβλεψάμενος δὲ τὴν ὅλην ψυχὴν ὧδε κἀκεῖσε καὶ μηδένα ἰδὼν ἑστῶτα, ὅτι μὴ τὸν ὄντα θεόν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα κλονούμενα καὶ σαλευόμενα, |
[95] πατάξας καὶ συλλογισάμενος τὸν φιλήδονον κρύπτει ἐν τῷ σποράδι καὶ συμπεφορημένῳ[1] νῷ, ὃς συμφυΐας καὶ ἑνώσεως τῆς πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ἐστέρηται.
39 οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἀποκέκρυπται εἰς αὑτόν· ὁ δὲ
ἐναντίος τούτῳ φεύγει μὲν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, καταφεύγει δ' ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν ὄντων θεόν. XIII. διὸ καί φησιν· "ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἔξω καὶ εἶπεν Ἀνάβλεψον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀρίθμησον τοὺς ἀστέρας" (Gen. xv. 5), οὓς ἐβουλόμεθα μὲν περιλαβεῖν καὶ περιαθρῆσαι ἄπληστοι τῶν ἀρετῆς ὄντες ἐρώτων, ἀδυνατοῦμεν δὲ πλοῦτον ἀνα-
40 μετρῆσαι θεοῦ. ἀλλ' ὅμως χάρις τῷ φιλοδώρῳ,
ὅτι οὕτω σπέρματα ἐν ψυχῇ βαλέσθαι φησὶ τηλαυγῆ καὶ λαμπρὰ καὶ δι' ὅλων νοερὰ ὡς τοὺς ἀστέρας ἐν οὐρανῷ. οὐ παρέργως δὲ πρόσκειται τῷ "ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὸν" τὸ "ἔξω"; τίς γὰρ ἔνδον ἐξάγεται; ἀλλὰ μήποτε ὃ λέγει τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἐξωτάτω χωρίον, οὐκ εἴς τι τῶν ἐκτός, ὃ δύναται ὑπ' ἄλλων περιέχεσθαι· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις τοῦ θαλάμου

[1] συμπεφ. from Mangey's conjecture.

[a] *Cf.* Exod. ii. 11.

that the things of the body have the pre-eminence and holds the things of the soul to be naught, and regards pleasures as the end and aim of life. For having noted the toil[a] imposed by the king of Egypt on him who sees God—and the king is wickedness whose lead the passions follow—he sees the Egyptian man, that is, human and perishable passion, beating and outrageously treating the seeing one; and having looked round upon the whole soul in this direction and in that, and seen no one standing, save God who IS, but all other things tossing in wild confusion, after smiting and thoroughly reckoning up the lover of pleasure, he hides him in his mind, which is a congeries of disconnected grains, devoid of cohesion and union with the beautiful and noble. So this man has been hidden away in himself. But the man of a character the reverse of his flies indeed from himself but takes refuge in the God of those that are. XIII. And for this reason he says, "He led him forth abroad and said, Look up to heaven and count the stars" (Gen. xv. 5). These we would fain take in in one all-encompassing view, being insatiable in our love of virtue, but we are powerless to take the measure of the riches of God. Yet thanks be to the Lover of Giving, for telling us in this way that He has set for Himself in the soul seeds far-shining, radiant, full charged with meaning, as he has set the stars in heaven. But is not "abroad" a superfluous addition to "led him forth"? For who is ever led forth within? But it may be that this is what he means; He led him forth to outermost space, not just to one of the outside spaces, one that can be encompassed by others. For just as in our houses the women's apartments have the men's

ἐκτὸς μέν ἐστιν ὁ ἀνδρών, ἐντὸς δὲ ὁ αὐλών, καὶ ἡ αὔλειος ἐκτὸς μὲν τῆς αὐλῆς, εἴσω δὲ τοῦ πυλῶνος, οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ ψυχῆς δύναται τὸ ἐκτός
41 τινος ἐντὸς εἶναι ⌜τοῦ ἑτέρου. οὕτως οὖν ἀκουστέον· τὸν νοῦν εἰς τὸ ἐξώτατον ἐξήγαγε. τί γὰρ ὄφελος ἦν καταλιπεῖν αὐτὸν τὸ σῶμα, καταφυγεῖν δὲ ἐπ' αἴσθησιν; τί δὲ αἰσθήσει μὲν ἀποτάξασθαι, λόγῳ δὲ ὑποστεῖλαι τῷ γεγωνῷ; χρὴ γὰρ τὸν μέλλοντα νοῦν ἐξάγεσθαι καὶ ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ ἀφίεσθαι πάντων ὑπεκστῆναι, σωματικῶν ἀναγκῶν, αἰσθητικῶν ὀργάνων, λόγων σοφιστικῶν, πιθανοτήτων, τὰ τελευταῖα καὶ ἑαυτοῦ.
42 XIV. διὸ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις αὐχεῖ λέγων· "κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ὁ θεὸς τῆς γῆς, ὃς ἔλαβέ με ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρός μου" (Gen. xxiv. 7)· οὐ γάρ ἐστι ‹τὸν› κατοικοῦντα ἐν σώματι καὶ τῷ θνητῷ γένει δυνατὸν θεῷ συγγενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν ‹ὃν› ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου θεὸς διαρρύεται.
43 οὗ ἕνεκα καὶ ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς χαρὰ Ἰσαάκ, ὅταν ἀδολεσχῇ καὶ ἰδιάζῃ θεῷ, ἐξέρχεται ἀπολείπων ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν· "ἐξῆλθε" γάρ φησιν "Ἰσαὰκ ἀδολεσχῆσαι εἰς τὸ πεδίον τὸ πρὸς δείλης" (Gen. xxiv. 63). καὶ Μωυσῆς δὲ ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος φησίν· "ὅταν ἐξέλθω τὴν πόλιν," τὴν ψυχήν—πόλις γάρ ἐστι καὶ αὕτη τοῦ ζῴου νόμους διδοῦσα καὶ ἔθη—"ἐκπετάσω τὰς χεῖρας" (Exod. ix. 29), καὶ ἀναπετάσω καὶ ἐξαπλώσω πάσας τὰς πράξεις θεῷ μάρτυρα καλῶν καὶ ἐπίσκοπον ἑκάστης, ὃν κακία κρύπ-

quarters outside them and the passage inside them, and the courtyard door is outside the court but inside the gateway, even so, in the case of the soul too, that which is outside one part can be inside another part. We must take what he says in this way; He led forth the mind to the outermost bound. For what advantage would it have been for it to leave the body behind and take refuge in sense-perception? What gain in renouncing sense-perception and taking shelter under the uttered word? For it behoves the mind that would be led forth and let go free to withdraw itself from the influence of everything, the needs of the body, the organs of sense, specious arguments, the plausibilities of rhetoric, last of all itself.

XIV. For this reason he glories elsewhere saying "The Lord, the God of heaven, and the God of the earth, who took me out of my father's house" (Gen. xxiv. 7); for it is not possible that he whose abode is in the body and the mortal race should attain to being with God; this is possible only for him whom God rescues out of the prison. For this reason Isaac also, the soul's gladness, when he meditates and is alone with God, goes forth, quitting himself and his own mind; for it says, "Isaac went forth into the plain to meditate as evening was drawing near" (Gen. xxiv. 63). Yes, and Moses, the word of prophecy, says, "When I go forth out of the city," the soul to wit (for this too is the city of the living being giving him laws and customs), "I will spread out my hands" (Exod. ix. 29), and I will spread open and unfold all my doings to God, calling Him to be witness and overseer of each one of them, from whom evil cannot hide itself,

[96] *τεσθαι οὐ πέφυκεν,* | *ἐξαπλοῦσθαι δὲ καὶ φανερῶς ὁρᾶσθαι.*

44 *Ὅταν μέντοι διὰ πάντων ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ λόγων καὶ ἔργων ἐξαπλωθῇ καὶ ἐκθειασθῇ, παύονται τῶν αἰσθήσεων αἱ φωναὶ καὶ πάντες οἱ ὀχληροὶ καὶ δυσώνυμοι ἦχοι· φωνεῖ γὰρ καὶ καλεῖ τὸ μὲν ὁρατὸν τὴν ὅρασιν ἐφ' ἑαυτό, ἡ δὲ φωνὴ τὴν ἀκοήν, ὁ δὲ ἀτμὸς τὴν ὄσφρησιν, καὶ συνόλως τὸ αἰσθητὸν τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸ προσκαλεῖται· ταῦτα δὲ πάντα παύεται, ὅταν ἐξελθοῦσα τὴν ψυχῆς πόλιν ἡ διάνοια θεῷ τὰς ἑαυτῆς πράξεις*

45 *καὶ διανοήσεις ἀνάψῃ.* XV. *καὶ γάρ εἰσιν* "*αἱ χεῖρες Μωυσεῖ βαρεῖαι*" (Exod. xvii. 12)· *ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αἱ τοῦ φαύλου πράξεις ἀνεμιαῖοί τε καὶ κοῦφαι, γένοιντ' ἂν αἱ τοῦ σοφοῦ βαρεῖαι καὶ ἀκίνητοι οὐδ' εὐσάλευτοι· παρὸ καὶ στηρίζονται ὑπό τε Ἀαρών, τοῦ λόγου, καὶ Ὥρ, ὅ ἐστι φῶς· οὐδὲν* <*δὲ*> *τῶν πραγμάτων φῶς ἐναργέστερόν ἐστιν ἀληθείας· βούλεται οὖν διὰ συμβόλων σοι παραστῆσαι, ὅτι αἱ τοῦ σοφοῦ πράξεις στηρίζονται ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων λόγου τε καὶ ἀληθείας. διὸ καὶ Ἀαρὼν ὅταν τελευτᾷ, τουτέστιν ὅταν τελειωθῇ, εἰς Ὥρ, ὅ ἐστι φῶς, ἀνέρχεται* (Num. xx. 25)· *τὸ γὰρ τέλος τοῦ λόγου ἀλήθειά ἐστιν ἡ φωτὸς τηλαυγεστέρα, εἰς ἣν σπουδάζει ὁ λόγος ἐλθεῖν.*

46 *Οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ σκηνὴν* (Exod. xxxiii. 7) *λαβών, τουτέστι σοφίαν, ἐν ᾗ κατασκηνοῖ καὶ ἐνοικεῖ ὁ σοφός, ἔπηξε καὶ ἐβεβαιώσατο καὶ κραταιῶς ἱδρύσατο, οὐκ ἐν τῷ σώματι, ἀλλ' ἔξω τούτου; παρεμβολῇ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἀπεικάζει, στρατοπέδῳ πολέμων καὶ κακῶν ὅσα*

but is forced to remove all disguises and be plainly seen.

When the soul in all utterances and all actions has attained to perfect sincerity and godlikeness, the voices of the senses cease and all those abominable sounds that used to vex it. For the visible calls and summons the sense of sight to itself, and the voice calls the sense of hearing, and the perfume that of smell, and all round the object of sense invites the sense to itself. But all these cease when the mind goes forth from the city of the soul and finds in God the spring and aim of its own doings and intents.[a]

XV. For truly are "the hands of Moses heavy" (Exod. xvii. 12); for inasmuch as the bad man's doings are light and windy, those of the wise man will be weighty and immovable and not easily shaken. Accordingly they are steadied by Aaron, the Word, and Hor, which is "Light"; and life has no clearer light than truth. The prophet's aim therefore is to show thee by means of symbols that the doings of the wise man are upheld by the most essential of all things, the Word and Truth. And so, when Aaron dies, that is, when he is made perfect, he goes up into Hor, which is "Light" (Numb. xx. 25); for the end of the Word is Truth, which casts a beam more far-reaching than light. To this it is the earnest endeavour of the Word to attain.

Mark you not, that when he had received from God (Exod. xxxiii. 7) the Tent, namely, wisdom, in which the wise man tabernacles and dwells, he fixed and made it fast and strongly established it, not in the body, but outside it? For to represent the body he uses the figure of a camp, the quarters of an army full of wars and all the evils that war

[a] Exod. ix. 29 is still being handled.

πόλεμος ἐργάζεται πλήρει, μετουσίαν εἰρήνης οὐκ ἔχοντι. "καὶ ἐκλήθη ἡ σκηνὴ μαρτυρίου," σοφία μαρτυρουμένη ὑπὸ θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ "πᾶς ὁ ζητῶν
47 κύριον ἐξεπορεύετο," παγκάλως· εἰ γὰρ ζητεῖς θεόν, ὦ διάνοια, ἐξελθοῦσα ἀπὸ σαυτῆς ἀναζήτει, μένουσα δὲ ἐν τοῖς σωματικοῖς ὄγκοις ἢ ταῖς κατὰ νοῦν οἰήσεσιν ἀζητήτως ἔχεις τῶν θείων, κἂν ἐπιμορφάζῃς ὅτι ζητεῖς· εἰ δὲ ζητοῦσα εὑρήσεις θεόν, ἄδηλον, πολλοῖς γὰρ οὐκ ἐφανέρωσεν ἑαυτόν, ἀλλ' ἀτελῆ τὴν σπουδὴν ἄχρι παντὸς ἔσχον· ἐξαρκεῖ μέντοι πρὸς μετουσίαν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ψιλὸν τὸ ζητεῖν μόνον, ἀεὶ γὰρ αἱ ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ ὁρμαί, κἂν τοῦ τέλους ἀτυχῶσι, τοὺς
48 χρωμένους προευφραίνουσιν. οὕτως ὁ μὲν φαῦλος ἀρετήν γε φεύγων καὶ θεὸν ἀποκρυπτόμενος ἐπ' ἀσθενῆ βοηθὸν καταφεύγει τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος ἔμπαλιν ἑαυτὸν ἀποδιδράσκων ἀνα-
[97] στρέφει πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς ἐπίγνωσιν, | καλὸν δρόμον καὶ πάντων ἄριστον ἀγώνισμα τοῦτο νικῶν.

49 XVI. "Καὶ ἐκάλεσε κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ποῦ εἶ;" (Gen. iii. 9) διὰ τί μόνος καλεῖται ὁ Ἀδάμ, συγκεκρυμμένης αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς γυναικός; λεκτέον οὖν πρῶτον, ὅτι καλεῖται ὁ νοῦς ὅπου ἦν, ὅταν ἔλεγχον λαμβάνῃ καὶ ἐπίστασιν τῆς τροπῆς· οὐ μόνον <δ'> αὐτὸς καλεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ πᾶσαι, ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν δυνάμεων ὁ νοῦς καθ' ἑαυτὸν γυμνὸς καὶ οὐδὲ ὢν εὑρίσκεται· μία δὲ τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ ἡ

[a] *i.e.* 'in the case in which it was.' The sequel describes its case.

produces, a place that has no part in peace. "And it was called 'the tent of testimony,'" wisdom testified to by God. Yes, for "everyone that sought the Lord went out to it." Right finely is this said. For if thou art seeking God, O mind, go out from thyself and seek diligently; but if thou remainest amid the heavy encumbrances of the body or the self-conceits with which the understanding is familiar, though thou mayest have the semblance of a seeker, not thine is the quest for the things of God. But whether thou wilt find God when thou seekest is uncertain, for to many He has not manifested Himself, but their zeal has been without success all along. And yet the mere seeking by itself is sufficient to make us partakers of good things, for it always is the case that endeavours after noble things, even if they fail to attain their object, gladden in their very course those who make them. Thus it is that while the bad man, who shuns virtue and hides himself from God, takes refuge in his own mind, a sorry resource, the good man, on the other hand, who runs away from himself, returns to the apprehension of the One, thus winning a noble race and proving victor in this grandest of all contests.

XVI. "And the Lord God called Adam and said to him, 'Where art thou?'" (Gen. iii. 9). Why is Adam alone called, his wife having hid herself with him? Well, first of all we must say, that the mind is called even there where it was,[a] when it receives reproof and a check is given to its defection. But not only is the mind itself called, but all its faculties as well, for without its faculties the mind by itself is found naked and not even existent; and one of the faculties is sense-perception, the

50 αἴσθησις, ἥτις ἐστὶ γυνή. συγκέκληται οὖν τῷ
Ἀδὰμ τῷ νῷ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αἴσθησις· ἰδίᾳ δ' αὐτὴν
οὐ καλεῖ· διὰ τί; ὅτι ἄλογος οὖσα ἔλεγχον ἐξ
ἑαυτῆς λαμβάνειν οὐ δύναται· οὔτε γὰρ ἡ ὅρασις
οὔθ' ἡ ἀκοὴ οὔτε τις τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων
διδακτή, ὥστε οὐ δύναται κατάληψιν πραγμάτων
ποιήσασθαι· μόνων γὰρ σωμάτων διακριτικὴν
εἰργάσατο αὐτὴν ὁ ἐργασάμενος· ὁ δὲ νοῦς ὁ
διδασκόμενός ἐστιν, οὗ χάριν αὐτὸν ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν
αἴσθησιν προκέκληται.

51 XVII. Τὸ δὲ "ποῦ εἶ" πολλαχῶς ἔστιν ἀπο-
δοῦναι· ἅπαξ μὲν οὐ τὸ πευστικόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀπο-
φαντικὸν τὸ ἴσον τῷ "ἐν τόπῳ ὑπάρχεις" βαρυ-
τονουμένου τοῦ "ποὺ εἶ·" ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ᾠήθης τὸν
θεὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ περιπατεῖν καὶ ὑπὸ τούτου
περιέχεσθαι, μάθε ὅτι <οὐκ> εὖ τοῦτο πέπονθας,
καὶ ἄκουσον παρὰ τοῦ ἐπισταμένου θεοῦ ῥῆσιν
ἀληθεστάτην, ὅτι ὁ μὲν θεὸς οὐχί που—οὐ γὰρ
περιέχεται ἀλλὰ περιέχει τὸ πᾶν—τὸ δὲ γενό-
μενον ἐν τόπῳ, περιέχεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸ ἀλλ' οὐ
52 περιέχειν ἀναγκαῖον. δεύτερον δὲ τὸ
λεγόμενον ἴσον ἐστὶ τούτῳ· ποῦ γέγονας, ὦ ψυχή;
ἀνθ' οἵων ἀγαθῶν οἷα ᾕρησαι κακά; καλέσαντός
σε τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς μετουσίαν ἀρετῆς κακίαν μετέρχῃ,
καὶ τὸ τῆς ζωῆς ξύλον, τουτέστι σοφίας ᾗ δυνήσῃ
ζῆν, παρασχόντος εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἀμαθίας καὶ
φθορᾶς ἐνεφορήθης, κακοδαιμονίαν τὸν ψυχῆς
θάνατον εὐδαιμονίας τῆς ἀληθινῆς ζωῆς προ-

which is woman. Included then in the call of Adam, the mind, is that of sense-perception, the woman; but God does not call her with a special call; why? because, being irrational, she has no capacity derived from herself to receive reproof. For neither sight nor hearing nor any of the senses is susceptible of instruction, so that it cannot perform the act of apprehending subjects. But He who made sense-perception made it capable of distinguishing between material forms only: but the mind it is that receives instruction, and that is why He challenged it but not sense-perception.

XVII. The words ποῦ εἶ, "Where art thou?" can be accounted for in many different ways, first as not being interrogative but declarative, as equivalent to "thou art in a place," ποὺ receiving the grave accent. For whereas thou thoughtest that God walked in the garden and was contained by it, learn that there was something amiss with thee in thinking this, and listen to a most true utterance from the mouth of God who knoweth, to the effect that God is not somewhere (for He is not contained but contains the universe), but that which came into being is in a place, for it must of necessity be contained but not contain.

A second account is this: What is said is equivalent to "Where hast thou arrived, O soul?" In the place of how great goods, what evils hast thou chosen for thyself? When God had invited thee to participate in virtue, art thou going after wickedness, and when He had provided for thy enjoyment the tree of life, that is of wisdom, whereby thou shouldst have power to live, didst thou gorge thyself with ignorance and corruption, preferring misery the soul's death to

53 κρίνασα; τρίτον ἐστὶ τὸ πευστικόν, πρὸς ὃ δύο γένοιντ' ἂν ἀποκρίσεις· μία μὲν πυνθανομένῳ "ποῦ εἶ" ἢ "οὐδαμοῦ," τόπον γὰρ οὐδένα ἔχει ἡ τοῦ φαύλου ψυχή, ᾧ ἐπιβήσεται ἢ ἐφ' οὗ ἱδρυθήσεται, παρὸ καὶ ἄτοπος λέγεται εἶναι ὁ φαῦλος—ἄτοπον δέ ἐστι κακὸν δύσθετον—· τοιοῦτος δ' ὁ μὴ ἀστεῖος, σαλεύων καὶ κλονούμενος ἀεὶ καὶ πνεύματος τρόπον ἀστάτου διαφερόμενος, βεβαίου
54 [98] τὸ | παράπαν οὐδεμιᾶς γνώμης ἑταῖρος ὤν· ἑτέρα δὲ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀπόκρισις τοιάδε, ᾗ κέχρηται καὶ ὁ Ἀδάμ· ποῦ εἰμι ἄκουε· ὅπου οἱ τὸν θεὸν ἰδεῖν ἀδυνατοῦντες, ὅπου οἱ θεοῦ οὐκ ἀκούοντες, ὅπου οἱ τὸ αἴτιον ἀποκρυπτόμενοι, ὅπου οἱ φεύγοντες ἀρετήν, ὅπου οἱ γυμνοὶ σοφίας, ὅπου οἱ φοβούμενοι καὶ τρέμοντες ὑπ' ἀνανδρίας καὶ δειλίας ψυχικῆς· ὅταν γὰρ λέγῃ "τῆς φωνῆς σου ἤκουσα ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ καὶ ἐφοβήθην, ὅτι γυμνός εἰμι, καὶ ἐκρύβην" (Gen. iii. 10), πάντα τὰ εἰρημένα παρίστησιν, ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς προτέροις διὰ μακρο-
55 τέρων λόγων ἀπεδείξαμεν. XVIII. καίτοι γυμνὸς οὐκ ἔστι νῦν ὁ Ἀδάμ· "ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς περιζώματα" ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἴρηται· ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τούτου βούλεταί σε διδάξαι, ὅτι γυμνότητα οὐ τὴν τοῦ σώματος παραλαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἣν ὁ νοῦς ἄμοιρος καὶ γυμνὸς ἀρετῆς ἀνευρίσκεται.

56 "Ἡ γυνὴ" φησίν "ἣν ἔδωκας μετ' ἐμοῦ, αὕτη μοι ἔδωκεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, καὶ ἔφαγον" (Gen.

happiness the real life? Thirdly, there is the interrogative sense, to which two answers might be made. One answer to the question, "Where art thou?" is "Nowhere," for the soul of the bad man has no place where to find footing or upon which to settle. Owing to this the bad man is said to be "placeless"—"placeless" is used of an evil that defies *placing* (in any known category). Such is the man that is not good, always restless and unstable, drifting this way and that like a chopping wind, attaching himself absolutely to no fixed principle whatever. A second answer might be given to this effect. Adam in fact gave it. "Hear where I am; where those are who are incapable of seeing God; where those are who do not listen to God; where those are who hide themselves from the Author of all things; where are those that shun virtue, where are the destitute of wisdom, where those are who owing to unmanliness and cowardice of soul live in fear and trembling. For when Adam says, "I heard Thy voice in the garden and was afraid, because I am naked, and I hid myself" (Gen. iii. 10), he discovers all the traits just enumerated, as I have fully shown in former sections.

XVIII. Nevertheless Adam is not naked now: "they made for themselves girdles" are the words that occur a little further back. Even by this it is the prophet's wish to teach thee, that he understands by nakedness not that of the body, but that by which the mind is found unprovided and unclothed with virtue.

"The woman," he says, "whom Thou gavest with me, she gave me of the tree, and I ate" (Gen. iii. 12). It is well his not saying, "the

iii. 12). εὖ τὸ μὴ φάναι, ἡ γυνὴ ἣν ἔδωκας ἐμοί, ἀλλὰ "μετ' ἐμοῦ·" οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ὡς κτῆμα τὴν αἴσθησιν ἔδωκας, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν ἀφῆκας ἄνετον καὶ ἐλευθέραν, κατά τινα τρόπον οὐχ ὑπείκουσαν τοῖς τῆς ἐμῆς διανοίας ἐπιτάγμασιν· ἐὰν γοῦν βουληθῇ ὁ νοῦς προστάξαι τῇ ὁράσει μὴ ἰδεῖν, οὐδὲν ἧττον αὕτη τὸ ὑποκείμενον ὄψεται· καὶ ἡ ἀκοὴ μέντοι προσπεσούσης φωνῆς ἀντιλήψεται πάντως, κἂν ὁ νοῦς φιλονεικῶν διακελεύηται αὐτῇ μὴ ἀκούειν· καὶ μὴν ἥ γε ὄσφρησις ἀτμῶν χωρησάντων εἰς αὐτὴν ὀσφρήσεται, κἂν ὁ νοῦς ἀπ-
57 αγορεύῃ μὴ ἀντιλαβέσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἔδωκεν αἴσθησιν τῷ ζῴῳ, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ ζῴου· τὸ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστίν· ἅπαντα αἴσθησις μετὰ τοῦ ἡμετέρου νοῦ γνωρίζει καὶ ἅμα αὐτῷ· οἷον ἡ ὅρασις ἅμα τῷ νῷ ἐπιβάλλει τῷ ὁρατῷ· εἶδέ τε γὰρ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ εὐθὺς ὁ νοῦς κατέλαβε τὸ ὁραθέν, ὅτι μέλαν ἢ λευκὸν ἢ ὠχρὸν ἢ φοινικοῦν ἢ τρίγωνον ἢ τετράγωνον ἢ στρογγύλον ἢ τὰ ἄλλα χρώματά τε καὶ σχήματα· καὶ πάλιν ἡ ἀκοὴ ἐπλήχθη ὑπὸ τῆς φωνῆς καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς ὁ νοῦς· τεκμήριον δέ, ἔκρινεν εὐθὺς τὴν φωνήν, ὅτι λεπτὴ ἢ μέγεθος ἔχουσα ἢ ἐμμελὴς καὶ εὔρυθμος καὶ πάλιν εἰ ἐκμελής τε καὶ οὐκ ἐναρμόνιος· καὶ ταὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων εὑρίσκεται.
58 πάνυ δὲ καλῶς καὶ τὸ προσθεῖναι τὸ "αὕτη μοι ἔδωκεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου"· τὸν γὰρ ξύλινον καὶ αἰσθητὸν ὄγκον τῷ νῷ οὐδεὶς δίδωσιν, ὅτι μὴ αἴσθησις· τίς γὰρ ἔδωκε τῇ διανοίᾳ γνωρίσαι τὸ σῶμα ἢ τὸ λευκόν; οὐχ ἡ ὄψις; τίς δὲ τὴν

woman whom Thou gavest to me," but "with me"; for Thou gavest not sense to me as a possession, but it too Thou didst leave free and at large, in some respects not subservient to the behests of my understanding. For instance, should the mind choose to bid the sight not to see, the sight will none the less see what lies before it. The hearing again, when a sound has reached it, will assuredly give it entrance, even if the mind resolutely command it not to hear. And the sense of smell, when odours have found their way in to it, will smell them, even though the mind forbid it to welcome them. Owing to this God did not give sense-perception *to* the living being, but *with* the living being. What "giving with" means is this. Sense becomes aware of all things with our mind and simultaneously with it. For instance, the visible object arrests simultaneously the attention of the sight and of the mind; for the eye caught sight of the material substance, and at once the mind took in the thing that had been seen, took in that it was black or white or yellow or red or triangular or square or round, or some other colour or shape. Again the hearing received the impression of the sound and the mind with it: in proof that it did, it immediately judged of the sound, pronouncing it weak or loud, tuneful and rhythmical, and on the other hand whether it is out of tune and a discord. We find the same thing in the case of the other senses. Quite excellent is the addition of the words "*she* gave me of the tree." For no one, except sense-perception, ever gives to the mind the tree with its sensibly-discerned bulk. For who gave to the mind the possibility of recognizing the body or whiteness? Did

φωνήν; οὐχ ἡ ἀκοή; τίς δὲ τὸν ἀτμόν; οὐχ ἡ
[99] ὄσφρησις; τίς δὲ τὸν χυλόν; οὐχ ἡ γεῦσις; | τίς δὲ τὸ τραχὺ καὶ μαλακόν; οὐχ ἡ ἁφή; ὀρθῶς οὖν καὶ πάνυ ἀληθῶς εἴρηται ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ, ὅτι τὰς τῶν σωμάτων ἀντιλήψεις δίδωσί μοι μόνη ἡ αἴσθησις.

59 XIX. "Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς τῇ γυναικί Τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας; καὶ εἶπεν Ὁ ὄφις ἠπάτησέ με, καὶ ἔφαγον" (Gen. iii. 13). ἄλλο μὲν πυνθάνεται τῆς αἰσθήσεως ὁ θεός, ἄλλο δὲ αὐτὴ ἀποκρίνεται· πυνθάνεται μὲν γάρ τι περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἡ δὲ οὐ περὶ τούτου φησίν, ἀλλά τι περὶ ἑαυτῆς, λέγουσα
60 ὅτι ἔφαγον, οὐχ ὅτι ἔδωκα. μήποτ' οὖν ἀλληγοροῦντες λύσομεν τὸ ἀπορηθὲν καὶ δείξομεν τὴν γυναῖκα εὐθυβόλως πρὸς τὸ πύσμα ἀποκρινομένην. ἀνάγκη γάρ ἐστιν αὐτῆς φαγούσης καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα φαγεῖν· ὅταν γὰρ ἡ αἴσθησις ἐπιβάλλουσα τῷ αἰσθητῷ πληρωθῇ τῆς αὐτοῦ φαντασίας, εὐθὺς καὶ ὁ νοῦς συμβέβληκε καὶ ἀντελάβετο καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τροφῆς τῆς ἀπ' ἐκείνου πεπλήρωται. τοῦτ' οὖν φησιν· ἄκουσα δέδωκα τῷ ἀνδρί· προσβαλούσης γάρ μου τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ, ὀξυκίνητος
61 ὢν αὐτὸς ἐφαντασιώθη καὶ ἐτυπώθη. XX. παρατήρει δ' ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ λέγει τὴν γυναῖκα δεδωκέναι, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ οὐχὶ τὸν ὄφιν δεδωκέναι, ἀλλὰ ἠπατηκέναι· ἴδιον γὰρ αἰσθήσεως μὲν τὸ διδόναι, ἡδονῆς δὲ τῆς ποικίλης καὶ ὀφιώδους τὸ ἀπατᾶν καὶ παρακρούεσθαι· οἷον τὸ λευκὸν τῇ φύσει καὶ

[a] Or "Why didst thou do this?"

not sight? Who gave it the sound? Did not the hearing? Who the odour? Did not the sense of smell? Who the savour? Did not the taste? Who the rough and the soft? Did not the touch? Rightly and with perfect truth was it said by the mind 'sense-perception alone gives me opportunities of apprehending bodies.'

XIX. "And God said to the woman, 'What is this thou hast done?' [a] And she said, 'The serpent beguiled me and I ate'" (Gen. iii. 13). God puts a question to sense-perception touching one point, she gives an answer touching another point: for God asks something about the man; she speaks not about him, but says something about herself, for her words are "I ate," not "I gave." Perhaps, then as we read the passage figuratively, we shall solve the puzzle and show that the woman gives a very pertinent answer to the question put to her. For it is a matter of necessity that when she ate, the man too should eat. For when sense-perception, meeting with the object of sense, is filled with the presentation of it, forthwith the mind also is in contact, takes hold and in a way absorbs the sustenance which it provides. This, then, is what she says: My giving it to the man was by no act of will, for even as I struck upon the object, he (so swift is he to move) received the image and impression of it himself. XX. Now observe that, whereas the man says that the woman gave, the woman says not that the serpent gave but that he beguiled; for to give is characteristic of sense-perception but to cheat and beguile of pleasure with its serpent-like subtilty. For instance, sense-perception gives to the mind that which is by its nature white and that which is

τὸ μέλαν καὶ τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν δίδωσιν ἡ
αἴσθησις τῷ νῷ, οὐχὶ ἀπατῶσα ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀλή-
θειαν· τοιαῦτα γάρ ἐστι τὰ ὑποκείμενα, οἷα καὶ ἡ
ἀπ' αὐτῶν προσπίπτουσα φαντασία, κατὰ τοὺς
πλείστους τῶν μὴ φυσικώτερον φυσιολογούντων·
ἡ δὲ ἡδονὴ οὐχ οἷόν ἐστι τὸ ὑποκείμενον, τοιοῦτον
αὐτὸ γνωρίζει τῇ διανοίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐπιψεύδεται τέχνῃ
τὸ ἀλυσιτελὲς εἰς συμφέροντος τάξιν ἐμβιβάζουσα·
62 ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἑταιρῶν τὰς εἰδεχθεῖς ἰδεῖν ἔστι
φαρματτούσας καὶ ὑπογραφομένας τὴν ὄψιν, ἵνα
τὸ περὶ αὐτὰς αἶσχος ἐπικρύψωσι, καὶ τὸν ἀκρατῆ
ἐπὶ τὴν γαστρὸς νενευκότα ἡδονήν· οὗτος τὸν
πολὺν ἄκρατον καὶ τῶν σιτίων τὴν παρασκευὴν
ἀποδέχεται ὡς ἀγαθόν, βλαπτόμενος καὶ τὸ σῶμα
63 καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν· πάλιν τοὺς ἐρῶντας
ἰδεῖν ἔστι πολλάκις ἐπὶ γυναίων αἰσχίστων ὀφθῆναι
ἐπιμεμηνότας, τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀπατώσης καὶ μονονουχὶ
διεξιούσης, ὅτι εὐμορφία καὶ εὔχροια καὶ εὐσαρκία
καὶ τῶν μερῶν ἀναλογία περὶ τὰς πάντα τὰ ἐναντία
[100] τούτοις ἐχούσας ἐστί· τὰς γοῦν πρὸς | ἀλήθειαν
ἀμέμπτῳ κεχρημένας κάλλει παρορῶσιν, ἐκείνων
64 δὲ ὧν εἶπον κατατήκονται. πᾶσα οὖν ἀπάτη
οἰκειοτάτη ἡδονῇ, δόσις δὲ αἰσθήσει· ἡ μὲν γὰρ
σοφίζεται καὶ παράγει τὸν νοῦν, οὐχ ὁποῖα τὰ
ὑποκείμενά ἐστι δηλοῦσα, ἀλλ' ὁποῖα οὐκ ἔστιν,
ἡ δὲ αἴσθησις ἀκραιφνῶς δίδωσι τὰ σώματα οὕτως,
ὡς ἔχει φύσεως ἐκεῖνα, πλάσματος καὶ τέχνης
ἐκτός.

[a] "I should say the reference is to the philosophers in the succession who held that αἴσθησις was true, Empedocles, probably Leucippus, and Epicurus himself, but not (*e.g.*) Parmenides or Democritus." CYRIL BAILEY. In this case perhaps φυσικώτερον may be understood in the same sense as

black, that which is hot and that which is cold, quite truthfully and with no deception.[a] For, in the opinion of most people who do not overdo precision in their natural philosophy, objects are such as the appearance of them which meets the eye. But pleasure does not report the object to the mind such as it is, but artfully falsifies it, representing as something advantageous that which is of no benefit at all: even as it is possible to see repulsive courtesans applying pigments to their faces and painting under their eyes to conceal their ugliness. We can note also the immoderate man inclined to gluttony: this man welcomes as a good thing the abundance of strong drink and the well-spread board, though taking harm from them both in body and soul. Again we may see those who are in love, often quite crazy over women most hideous to behold, while pleasure beguiles them; you might almost say that she assures them of the beauty of form and colouring, the fullness and symmetry, that mark those who are characterized by traits the very reverse of these. Indeed they overlook those endowed with really faultless beauty, and pine for those whom I have mentioned. All kinds of consummate deception, then, are most proper to pleasure, while giving is the characteristic of sense-perception: pleasure outwits and misleads the mind, showing objects not as they are, but as they are not, whereas sense-perception simply gives the material forms just as nature has made them, without trickery or counterfeit.

in *De Post.* 7 (see note), where φυσικοὶ ἄνδρες are those who can discern the higher truths that underlie nature. Thus the whole phrase (τῶν μὴ φυσικώτερον φυσιολογούντων) means something like "materialistic philosophers."

65 XXI. "Καὶ εἶπε κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ ὄφει Ὅτι
ἐποίησας τοῦτο, ἐπικατάρατος σὺ ἀπὸ πάντων
τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς.
ἐπὶ τῷ στήθει καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ πορεύσῃ, καὶ γῆν
φάγεσαι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου. καὶ
ἔχθραν θήσω ἀνὰ μέσον σοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς
γυναικός, καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σπέρματός σου καὶ
τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῆς. αὐτός σου τηρήσει κεφαλήν,
καὶ σὺ τηρήσεις αὐτοῦ πτέρναν" (Gen. iii. 14,
15). διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν χωρὶς ἀπολογίας καταρᾶται
τῷ ὄφει, κελεύων ἐν ἑτέροις <ὡς> εἰκὸς "στῆναι
τοὺς δύο, οἷς ἐστιν ἡ ἀντιλογία" (Deut. xix. 17)
66 καὶ μὴ τῷ ἑτέρῳ προπιστεύειν; καὶ μὴν ὁρᾷς
ὅτι τῷ Ἀδὰμ οὐ προπεπίστευκε κατὰ τῆς γυναικός,
ἀλλὰ δίδωσιν αὐτῇ εἰς ἀπολογίαν ἀφορμήν, ὅταν
πυνθάνηται "τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας;" (Gen. iii. 13)
ἡ δέ γε ὁμολογεῖ πταῖσαι παρὰ τὴν τῆς
ὀφιώδους καὶ ποικίλης ἡδονῆς ἀπάτην. τί οὖν
ἐκώλυε, καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς εἰπούσης ὅτι ὁ ὄφις
ἠπάτησέ με, πυθέσθαι τοῦ ὄφεως, εἰ οὗτος ἠπά-
τησεν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀκρίτως χωρὶς ἀπολογίας κατ-
67 αρᾶσθαι; λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι ἡ αἴσθησις οὔτε τῶν
φαύλων οὔτε τῶν σπουδαίων ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ μέσον
τι αὕτη καὶ κοινὸν σοφοῦ τε καὶ ἄφρονος, καὶ
γενομένη μὲν ἐν ἄφρονι γίνεται φαύλη, ἐν ἀστείῳ
δὲ σπουδαία. εἰκότως οὖν, ἐπειδὴ φύσιν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς
μοχθηρὰν οὐκ ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἐπαμφοτερίζουσα νεύει
πρὸς ἑκάτερα τό τε εὖ καὶ χεῖρον, οὐ καταδικά-
ζεται πρὶν ὁμολογῆσαι, ὅτι ἠκολούθησε τῷ χείρονι.

[a] See App. p. 483.

XXI. "And the Lord God said to the serpent, 'Because thou hast done this, cursed art thou from among all cattle and from among all the beasts of the earth. Upon thy breast [a] and thy belly shalt thou go, and earth shalt thou eat all the days of thy life. And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed. He shall watch for thy head, and thou shalt watch for his heel" (Gen. iii. 14 f.). For what reason does He curse the serpent without giving it the opportunity to defend itself, though elsewhere, as seems reasonable, He commands that "the two parties between whom the dispute is should stand forth" (Deut. xix. 17) and that credit be not given to the one till the other be heard? Yet you see, no doubt, that He did not thus give credit to Adam, and prejudge the case against the woman, but gives her opportunity to defend herself, when He inquires "What is this that thou hast done?" (Gen. iii. 13), and she acknowledges that she failed owing to the deception practised on her by subtle serpent-like pleasure. When, then, the woman said "the serpent beguiled me," what was there to prevent His inquiring here too from the serpent, whether he beguiled her, instead of prejudging the case and pronouncing the curse without listening to any defence? We have to say, then, that sense-perception comes under the head neither of bad nor of good things, but is an intermediate thing common to a wise man and a fool, and when it finds itself in a fool it proves bad, when in a sensible man, good. Reasonably then, since it has no evil nature on its own account, but halts between good and evil, inclining to either side, it is not pronounced guilty till it has owned that it

68 ὁ δὲ ὄφις ἡ ἡδονὴ ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἐστι μοχθηρά· διὰ τοῦτο ἐν μὲν σπουδαίῳ οὐχ εὑρίσκεται τὸ παράπαν, μόνος δ' αὐτῆς ὁ φαῦλος ἀπολαύει. κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον οὖν μὴ διδοὺς ἀπολογίαν αὐτῇ καταρᾶται ὁ θεός, σπέρμα ἀρετῆς οὐκ ἐχούσῃ, ἀλλὰ αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ ἐπιλήπτῳ καὶ μιαρᾷ καθεστώσῃ.

69 XXII. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν Ἤρ χωρὶς αἰτίας περιφανοῦς πονηρὸν οἶδεν ὁ θεὸς (Gen. xxxviii. 7) καὶ ἀποκτείνει· τὸν γὰρ δερμάτινον ὄγκον ἡμῶν τὸ σῶμα—Ἤρ γὰρ δερμάτινος ἑρμηνεύεται—πονηρόν τε καὶ ἐπίβουλον τῆς ψυχῆς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ καὶ νεκρὸν καὶ τεθνηκὸς αἰεί· μὴ γὰρ ἄλλο τι
[101] νοήσῃς ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ποιεῖν ἢ νεκροφορεῖν, | τὸ νεκρὸν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα ἐγειρούσης καὶ ἀμοχθὶ φερούσης τῆς ψυχῆς· καὶ τὴν εὐτονίαν αὐτῆς, εἰ
70 βούλει, κατανόησον. ὁ μὲν ἐρρωμενέστατος ἀθλητὴς οὐκ ἂν ἰσχύσαι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς βραχὺν χρόνον ἀνδριάντα κομίσαι, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ μέχρις ἑκατονταετίας ἔστιν ὅτε τὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φέρει κούφως ἀνδριάντα μὴ κάμνουσα· οὐ γὰρ νῦν αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς νεκρὸν τὸ σῶμα ἀπ-
71 ειργάσατο. πονηρὸν δὲ φύσει μέν, ὡς εἶπον, ἐστὶ καὶ ψυχῆς ἐπίβουλον, οὐ φαίνεται δὲ πᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ θεῷ καὶ εἴ τις θεῷ φίλος· "ἐναντίον" γάρ φησι "κυρίου πονηρὸς Ἤρ." ὅταν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς μετεωροπολῇ καὶ τὰ τοῦ κυρίου μυστήρια μυῆται, πονηρὸν καὶ δυσμενὲς κρίνει τὸ σῶμα· ὅταν δὲ ἀποστῇ τῆς τῶν θείων ἐρεύνης, φίλον

followed evil. But the serpent, pleasure, is bad of itself; and therefore it is not found at all in a good man, the bad man getting all the harm of it by himself. Quite appropriately therefore does God pronounce the curse without giving pleasure an opportunity of defending herself, since she has in her no seed from which virtue might spring, but is always and everywhere guilty and foul.

XXII. For this reason in the case of Er also God knows him to be wicked and puts him to death without bringing an open charge against him (Gen. xxxviii. 7). For He is well aware that the body, our "leathern" bulk ("leathern" is the meaning of "Er"), is wicked and a plotter against the soul, and is even a corpse and a dead thing. For you must make up your mind that we are each of us nothing but corpse-bearers, the soul raising up and carrying without toil the body which of itself is a corpse. And note, if you will, how strong the soul is. The most muscular athlete would not have strength to carry his own statue for a short time, but the soul, sometimes for as long as a hundred years, easily carries the statue of the human being without getting tired; for it is not now (at the last) that God slays Er; nay, but the body which He made and which Er represents was a corpse to begin with. By nature, as I have said, it is wicked and a plotter against the soul, but it is not evident to all that it is so, but to God alone and to anyone who is dear to God; for we read "Er was wicked in the sight of the Lord." For when the mind soars aloft and is being initiated in the mysteries of the Lord, it judges the body to be wicked and hostile; but when it has abandoned the investigation of things

αὐτῷ καὶ συγγενὲς καὶ ἀδελφὸν ἡγεῖται, κατα-
72 φεύγει γοῦν ἐπὶ τὰ φίλα τούτῳ. διὰ τοῦτο ἀθλητοῦ ψυχὴ καὶ φιλοσόφου διαφέρει· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀθλητὴς πάντα ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος εὐεξίαν ἀναφέρει καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτὴν πρόοιτ' ἂν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἅτε φιλοσώματος ὑπάρχων, ὁ δὲ φιλόσοφος ἐραστὴς ὢν τοῦ καλοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος ἐν ἑαυτῷ κήδεται ψυχῆς, τοῦ δὲ νεκροῦ ὄντως σώματος ἀλογεῖ μόνον στοχαζόμενος, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ κακοῦ καὶ νεκροῦ συνδέτου πλημμελῆται τὸ ἄριστον ἡ
73 ψυχή. XXIII. ὁρᾷς ὅτι τὸν Ἢρ ἀποκτείνει οὐχ ὁ κύριος, ἀλλ' ὁ θεός· οὐ γάρ, καθὸ ἄρχει καὶ ἡγεμονεύει δυναστείᾳ κράτους αὐτεξουσίῳ χρώμενος, ἀναιρεῖ τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλὰ καθὸ ἀγαθότητι καὶ χρηστότητι χρῆται—ὁ θεὸς γὰρ ἀγαθότητός ἐστι τοῦ αἰτίου ὄνομα—ἵνα εἰδῇς ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἄψυχα οὐκ ἐξουσίᾳ πεποίηκεν ἀλλ' ἀγαθότητι, ᾗ καὶ τὰ ἔμψυχα· ἔδει γὰρ εἰς τὴν τῶν βελτιόνων δήλωσιν γένεσιν ὑποστῆναι καὶ τῶν χειρόνων ὑπὸ δυνάμεως τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγαθότητος τοῦ αἰτίου,
74 ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁ θεός. πότε οὖν, ὦ ψυχή, μάλιστα νεκροφορεῖν σαυτὴν ὑπολήψῃ; ἆρά γε οὐχ ὅταν τελειωθῇς καὶ βραβείων καὶ στεφάνων ἀξιωθῇς; ἔσῃ γὰρ τότε φιλόθεος, οὐ φιλοσώματος. τεύξῃ δὲ τῶν ἄθλων, ἐὰν γυνή σου γένηται ἡ τοῦ Ἰούδα νύμφη Θάμαρ, ἥτις ἑρμηνεύεται

divine, it deems it friendly to itself, its kinsman and brother. The proof of this is that it takes refuge in what is dear to the body. On this account there is a difference between the soul of an athlete and the soul of a philosopher. For the athlete refers everything to the well-being of the body, and, lover of the body that he is, would sacrifice the soul itself on its behalf; but the philosopher being enamoured of the noble thing that lives in himself, cares for the soul, and pays no regard to that which is really a corpse, the body, concerned only that the best part of him, his soul, may not be hurt by an evil thing, a very corpse, tied to it. XXIII. You see that Er is slain not by the Lord, but by God. For it is not as Ruler and Governor employing the absolute power of sovereignty that He destroys the body, but in the exercise of goodness and kindness. For "God" is the name of the goodness pertaining to the First Cause, and is so used that thou mayest know that He hath made the inanimate things also not by exercising authority but goodness, even as by goodness He hath made the living creatures. For it was necessary with a view to the clear manifestation of the superior beings that there should be in existence an inferior creation also, due to the same power, even the goodness of the First Cause. And that goodness is God. When, then, O soul, wilt thou in fullest measure realize thyself to be a corpse-bearer? Will it not be when thou art perfected, and accounted worthy of prizes and crowns? For then shalt thou be no lover of the body, but a lover of God. And thou shalt win the rewards if Judah's daughter-in-law become thy wife, even Tamar, which means a palm-tree, the sign of

φοῖνιξ, σύμβολον νίκης· τεκμήριον δέ· ὅταν αὐτὴν ἀγάγηται ὁ Εἴρ, εὐθὺς πονηρός τε εὑρίσκεται καὶ κτείνεται· λέγει γάρ· “καὶ ἔλαβεν Ἰούδας γυναῖκα Εἲρ τῷ πρωτοτόκῳ αὐτοῦ, ᾗ ὄνομα Θάμαρ” (Gen. xxxviii. 6), καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπιλέγει· “καὶ ἐγένετο Εἲρ πονηρὸς ἔναντι κυρίου, καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός” (ib. 7)· ὅταν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς τὰ ἀρετῆς ἀπενέγκηται νικητήρια, θάνατον
75 καταψηφίζεται τοῦ νεκροῦ σώματος. ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ τὸν ὄφιν ἄνευ ἀπολογίας καταρᾶται, ἡδονὴ γάρ ἐστι, καὶ τὸν Εἲρ χωρὶς αἰτίας περιφανοῦς
[102] | ἀποκτείνει, ἔστι γὰρ σῶμα. καὶ σκοπῶν, ὦ γενναῖε, εὑρήσεις τὸν θεὸν πεποιηκότα φύσεις ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἐπιλήπτους τε καὶ ὑπαιτίους ἐν ψυχῇ καὶ ἐν πᾶσι σπουδαίας καὶ ἐπαινετάς, ὥσπερ ἔχει
76 καὶ ἐπὶ φυτῶν καὶ ζῴων. οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ τῶν φυτῶν τὰ μὲν ἥμερα καὶ ὠφέλιμα καὶ σωτήρια κατεσκεύακεν ὁ δημιουργός, τὰ δὲ ἄγρια καὶ βλαβερὰ καὶ νόσων καὶ φθορᾶς αἴτια, καὶ ζῷα ὁμοίως; καθάπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τὸν ὄφιν, περὶ οὗ νῦν ἐστιν ὁ λόγος, φθοροποιὸν γὰρ τὸ ζῷον καὶ ἀναιρετικὸν ἐξ αὑτοῦ. ὃ δὴ διατίθησιν ἄνθρωπον ὄφις, τοῦτο καὶ ψυχὴν ἡδονή, παρὸ καὶ ἀπεικάσθη ὄφις ἡδονῇ.

77 XXIV. Ὥσπερ οὖν ἡδονὴν καὶ σῶμα ἄνευ μεμίσηκεν αἰτιῶν ὁ θεός, οὕτω καὶ φύσεις ἀστείας χωρὶς περιφανοῦς αἰτίας προαγήοχεν, ἔργον οὐδὲν πρὸ τῶν ἐπαίνων αὐτῶν ὁμολογήσας. εἰ γάρ τις ἔροιτο, διὰ τί φησι τὸν Νῶε χάριν εὑρεῖν ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ (Gen. vi. 8) μηδὲν πρότερον ἐργασάμενον, ὅσα γε εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπίγνωσιν, ἀστεῖον, ἀποκρινούμεθα δεόντως ὅτι

victory. Here is a proof of it. When Er has married her, he is immediately found to be wicked and slain. For we read, "And Judah took for Er his firstborn a wife whose name was Tamar" (Gen. xxxviii. 6), and the next words are, "And Er was wicked before the Lord, and God slew him" (*ibid.* 7). For when the mind has carried off the rewards of victory, it condemns the corpse-body to death. Thou seest that God both curses the serpent without allowing him to defend himself—for he is pleasure—and slays Er without bringing an open charge against him; for he is the body. And if thou wilt consider, my friend, thou wilt find that God has made in the soul some natures faulty and blameworthy of themselves, and others in all respects excellent and praiseworthy, just as is the case with plants and animals. Seest thou not that among the plants the Creator has made some repaying cultivation and useful and wholesome, and others wild and injurious and productive of disease and destruction, and the same with animals? As, doubtless, He has made the serpent, our present subject, for the creature is of itself destructive of health and life. What a serpent does to a man, that pleasure does to the soul, and therefore the serpent was taken to represent pleasure.

XXIV. Exactly, then, as God has conceived a hatred for pleasure and the body without giving reasons, so too has he promoted goodly natures apart from any manifest reason, pronouncing no action of theirs acceptable before bestowing his praises upon them. For should anyone ask why the prophet says that Noah found grace in the sight of the Lord God (Gen. vi. 8) when as yet he had, so far as our knowledge goes, done no fair deed, we shall give a suitable

ἐπαινετῆς ἐλέγχεται συστάσεως καὶ γενέσεως, ἑρμηνεύεται γὰρ Νῶε ἀνάπαυσις ἢ δίκαιος· ἀνάγκη δὲ τὸν παυόμενον ἀδικημάτων καὶ ἁμαρτημάτων, ἀναπαυόμενον ἐπὶ τῷ καλῷ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ συζῶντα, χάριν εὑρεῖν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ.
78 τὸ δὲ χάριν εὑρεῖν οὐκ ἔστι μόνον, ὥς νομίζουσί τινες, ἴσον τῷ εὐαρεστῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιοῦτον· ζητῶν ὁ δίκαιος τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν ἓν τοῦτο εὑρίσκει ἄριστον εὕρημα, χάριν ὄντα τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ σύμπαντα, γενέσεως δὲ οὐδὲν χάρισμα, ὅτι γε οὐδὲ κτῆμα, θεοῦ δὲ κτῆμα τὰ πάντα, διὸ καὶ μόνου τὴν χάριν οἰκεῖον· τοῖς γοῦν ζητοῦσι, τίς ἀρχὴ γενέσεως, ὀρθότατα ἄν τις ἀποκρίνοιτο, ὅτι ἀγαθότης καὶ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἣν ἐχαρίσατο τῷ μετ᾿ αὐτὸν γένει· δωρεὰ γὰρ καὶ εὐεργεσία καὶ χάρισμα θεοῦ τὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κόσμος ἐστί.

79 XXV. Καὶ Μελχισεδὲκ βασιλέα τε τῆς εἰρήνης —Σαλὴμ τοῦτο γὰρ ἑρμηνεύεται—<καὶ> ἱερέα
[103] ἑαυτοῦ πεποίηκεν ὁ θεός (Gen. xiv. 18), | οὐδὲν ἔργον αὐτοῦ προδιατυπώσας, ἀλλὰ τοιοῦτον ἐργασάμενος βασιλέα καὶ εἰρηναῖον καὶ ἱερωσύνης ἄξιον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πρῶτον· καλεῖται γὰρ βασιλεὺς δίκαιος, βασιλεὺς δὲ ἐχθρὸν τυράννῳ, ὅτι ὁ μὲν
80 νόμων, ὁ δὲ ἀνομίας ἐστὶν εἰσηγητής. ὁ μὲν οὖν τύραννος νοῦς ἐπιτάγματα ἐπιτάττει τῇ τε ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι βίαια καὶ βλαβερὰ καὶ σφοδρὰς λύπας ἐργαζόμενα, τὰς κατὰ κακίαν λέγω πράξεις καὶ τὰς τῶν παθῶν ἀπολαύσεις· ὁ δὲ [δεύτερος] βασιλεὺς πρῶτον μὲν [οὖν] οὐκ ἐπιτάττει μᾶλλον

answer to the effect that he is shown to be of an excellent nature from his birth, for Noah means "rest" or "righteous." But it cannot but be that he who rests from sinful and unrighteous acts and rests upon what is noble and lives in fellowship with righteousness, should find favour with God. Now *finding favour* is not as some suppose equivalent only to being well-pleasing, but something of this kind besides. The righteous man exploring the nature of existences makes a surprising *find*, in this one discovery, that all things are a *grace* of God, and that creation has no gift of grace to bestow, for neither has it any possession, since all things are God's possession, and for this reason grace too belongs to Him alone as a thing that is His very own. Thus to those who ask what the origin of creation is the right answer would be, that it is the goodness and grace of God, which He bestowed on the race that stands next after Him. For all things in the world and the world itself is a free gift and act of kindness and grace on God's part.

XXV. Melchizedek, too, has God made both king of peace, for that is the meaning of "Salem," and His own priest (Gen. xiv. 18). He has not fashioned beforehand any deed of his, but produces him to begin with as such a king, peaceable and worthy of His own priesthood. For he is entitled "the righteous king," and a "king" is a thing at enmity with a despot, the one being the author of laws, the other of lawlessness. So mind, the despot, decrees for both soul and body harsh and hurtful decrees working grievous woes, conduct, I mean, such as wickedness prompts, and free indulgence of the passions. But the king in the first place resorts to persuasion rather

ἢ πείθει, ἔπειτα τοιαῦτα παραγγέλλει, δι' ὧν ὥσπερ σκάφος τὸ ζῷον εὐπλοίᾳ τῇ τοῦ βίου χρήσεται κυβερνώμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ [καὶ τεχνίτου] κυβερνήτου, οὗτος δέ ἐστιν ὁ ὀρθὸς
81 λόγος. καλείσθω οὖν ὁ μὲν τύραννος ἄρχων πολέμου, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἡγεμὼν εἰρήνης, Σαλήμ, καὶ προσφερέτω τῇ ψυχῇ τροφὰς εὐφροσύνης καὶ χαρᾶς πλήρεις· ἄρτους γὰρ καὶ οἶνον προσφέρει, ἅπερ Ἀμμανῖται καὶ Μωαβῖται τῷ βλέποντι παρασχεῖν οὐκ ἠθέλησαν, οὗ χάριν ἐκκλησίας εἴργονται καὶ συλλόγου θείου· Ἀμμανῖται γὰρ οἱ ἐκ τῆς μητρὸς αἰσθήσεως καὶ Μωαβῖται οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς νοῦ φύντες τρόποι δύο ταῦτα τῶν ὄντων συνεκτικὰ νομίζοντες νοῦν καὶ αἴσθησιν, θεοῦ δὲ μὴ λαμβάνοντες ἔννοιαν, "οὐκ εἰσελεύσονται" φησὶ Μωυσῆς "<εἰς ἐκκλησίαν> κυρίου, . . . παρὰ τὸ μὴ συναντῆσαι αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν μετ' ἄρτων καὶ ὕδατος" (Deut. xxiii. 3, 4) ἐξιοῦσιν
82 ἐκ τῶν παθῶν Αἰγύπτου. XXVI. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Μελχισεδὲκ ἀντὶ ὕδατος οἶνον προσφερέτω καὶ ποτιζέτω καὶ ἀκρατιζέτω ψυχάς, ἵνα κατάσχετοι γένωνται θείᾳ μέθῃ νηφαλεωτέρᾳ νήψεως αὐτῆς· ἱερεὺς γάρ ἐστι λόγος κλῆρον ἔχων τὸν ὄντα καὶ ὑψηλῶς περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπερόγκως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς λογιζόμενος· τοῦ γὰρ ὑψίστου ἐστὶν ἱερεύς (Gen. xiv. 18), οὐχ ὅτι ἐστί τις ἄλλος οὐχ ὕψιστος —ὁ γὰρ θεὸς εἷς ὢν "ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι πλὴν αὐτοῦ" (Deut. iv. 39)—, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ ταπεινῶς καὶ χαμαιζήλως ὑπερμεγέθως δὲ καὶ ὑπεραύλως καὶ ὑψηλῶς νοεῖν περὶ θεοῦ ἔμφασιν τοῦ ὑψίστου κινεῖ.

83 XXVII. Τί δὲ εἰργάσατο ἤδη καλὸν ὁ Ἀβράμ,

than decrees, and in the next place issues directions such as to enable a vessel, the living being I mean, to make life's voyage successfully, piloted by the good pilot, who is right principle. Let the despot's title therefore be ruler of war, the king's prince of peace, of Salem, and let him offer to the soul food full of joy and gladness ; for he brings bread and wine, things which Ammonites and Moabites refused to supply to the seeing one, on which account they are excluded from the divine congregation and assembly. These characters, Ammonites deriving their nature from sense-perception their mother, and Moabites deriving theirs from mind their father, who hold that all things owe their coherence to these two things, mind and sense-perception, and take no thought of God, " shall not enter," saith Moses, " into the congregation of the Lord, because they did not meet us with bread and water " (Deut. xxiii. 3 f.) when we came out from the passions of Egypt. XXVI. But let Melchizedek instead of water offer wine, and give to souls strong drink, that they may be seized by a divine intoxication, more sober than sobriety itself. For he is a priest, even Reason, having as his portion Him that is, and all his thoughts of God are high and vast and sublime : for he is priest of the Most High (Gen. xiv. 18), not that there is any other not Most High—for God being One " is in heaven above and on earth beneath, and there is none beside Him " (Deut. iv. 39)—but to conceive of God not in low earthbound ways but in lofty terms, such as transcend all other greatness and all else that is free from matter, calls up in us a picture of the Most High.

XXVII. What good thing had Abram already done,

ὅτι κελεύει αὐτῷ πατρίδος καὶ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης ξενοῦσθαι καὶ γῆν οἰκεῖν, ἣν <ἂν> αὐτὸς δῷ ὁ θεός (Gen. xii. 1); πόλις δέ ἐστιν ἀγαθὴ καὶ πολλὴ καὶ σφόδρα εὐδαίμων, τὰ γὰρ δῶρα τοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλα καὶ τίμια. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐγέννησε τύπον ἔχοντα σπουδῆς ἄξιον·
[104] ἑρμηνεύεται γὰρ Ἀβρὰμ "πατὴρ | μετέωρος,"[a]
84 δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπαινετός· ὁ γὰρ νοῦς, ὅταν μὴ δεσπότου τρόπον ἀπειλῇ τῇ ψυχῇ, ἀλλ' ὡς πατὴρ ἄρχῃ, μὴ τὰ ἡδέα χαριζόμενος αὐτῇ, τὰ δὲ συμφέροντα καὶ ἀκούσῃ διδούς, καὶ ἐπίπαν τῶν ταπεινῶν καὶ ἀγόντων ἐπὶ τὰ θνητὰ ἀποστὰς μετεωροπολῇ καὶ συνδιατρίβῃ θεωρήμασι τοῖς περὶ κόσμου καὶ τῶν μερῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπανιὼν ἐρευνᾷ τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὴν τούτου φύσιν δι' ἔρωτα ἐπιστήμης ἄλεκτον, μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δογμάτων οὐ δύναται, ἀλλὰ μετοικίαν ζητεῖ βελτιούμενος ἀμείνω.

85 XXVIII. Ἐνίους δὲ ὁ θεὸς καὶ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως καλῶς διαπλάττει καὶ διατίθεται καὶ κλῆρον ἔχειν ἄριστον προήρηται. οὐχ ὁρᾷς, τί περὶ τοῦ Ἰσαάκ φησι τῷ Ἀβραὰμ οὐκ ἐλπίσαντι, ὅτι γενήσεται τοιούτου γεννήματος πατήρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ γελάσαντι ἐπὶ τῇ ὑποσχέσει καὶ εἰπόντι "Εἰ τῷ ἑκατονταετεῖ γενήσεται, καὶ Σάρρα ἐνενήκοντα ἐτῶν οὖσα τέξεται;" (Gen. xvii. 17) καταφάσκει καὶ ἐπινεύει λέγων "Ναί, ἰδοὺ Σάρρα ἡ γυνή σου τέξεταί σοι υἱὸν καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰσαάκ, καὶ στήσω τὴν διαθήκην μου πρὸς αὐτὸν

[a] The favourable interpretation of "Abram" given here should be compared with those given in *De Cherubim* 4, and *De Gigantibus* 62. *Cf. De Mutatione Nominum* 66.

that he bids him estrange himself from fatherland and kindred there and dwell in whatever land God Himself may give him? (Gen. xii. 1). And that is a city good and large and very prosperous, for great and precious are God's gifts. But this character also did God create in such a shape as to merit esteem, for "Abram" means "father high-soaring," [a] and both epithets are grounds for praise. For when the mind does not, like a master, frighten the soul with threats, but governs it as a father, not granting it the things that are pleasant to it, but giving it even against its will the things that are good for it; when, in all matters turning away from what is base and from all that draws it to things mortal, it soars aloft and spends its time in contemplation of the universe and its different parts; when, mounting yet higher, it explores the Deity and His nature, urged by an ineffable love of knowledge; it cannot continue to entertain the principles it imbibed originally, but in its desire to improve itself seeks to change its abode for a better one.

XXVIII. Some even before their birth God endows with a goodly form and equipment, and has determined that they shall have a most excellent portion. Dost thou not see what He says concerning Isaac to Abraham when unable to trust that he shall ever become the father of such an offspring, nay when he actually laughed at the promise and said, "Shall it come to pass to him that is a hundred years old, and shall Sarah who is ninety years old bear a child?" (Gen. xvii. 17). He ratifies and confirms it saying, "Yes, Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son and thou shalt call his name Isaac, and I will establish My covenant with Him for an everlasting

86 εἰς διαθήκην αἰώνιον" (ib. 19). τί οὖν ἐστι τὸ καὶ τοῦτον πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως ἐπαινεῖσθαι πεποιηκός; ἔνια τῶν ἀγαθῶν γενόμενα καὶ παρόντα ὠφελεῖ, οἷον ὑγίεια, εὐαισθησία, πλοῦτος εἰ τύχοι, δόξα—λεγέσθω γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα καταχρηστικώτερον ἀγαθά—ἔνια δ' οὐ γενόμενα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ θεσπισθέντα ὅτι γενήσεται, ὥσπερ ἡ χαρά—εὐπάθεια ψυχῆς ἐστιν ἥδε—⌈γὰρ⌉ οὐχ ὅταν παροῦσα δραστηρίως ἐνεργῇ μόνον εὐφραίνει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν ἐλπίζηται προγανοῖ· ἐξαίρετον γὰρ καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχει· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ ἰδίᾳ ἐνεργεῖ, ἡ δὲ χαρὰ καὶ ἴδιον καὶ κοινὸν ἀγαθόν ἐστιν· ἐπιγίνεται γοῦν ἅπασι, χαίρομεν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ ὑγείᾳ καὶ ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τιμῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥστε κυρίως εἰπεῖν μηδὲν εἶναι ἀγαθόν, ᾧ μὴ πρόσεστι
87 χαρά. ἀλλ' οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ προγεγενημένοις ἤδη τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς καὶ παροῦσι χαίρομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ μέλλουσι καὶ προσδοκωμένοις, οἷον ὅτε ἐλπίζομεν πλουτήσειν ἢ ἄρξειν ἢ ἐπαινεθήσεσθαι ἢ νόσων ἀπαλλαγὴν εὑρήσεσθαι ἢ εὐτονίας καὶ ῥώμης κοινωνήσειν ἢ ἐπιστήμονες ἀντ' ἀνεπιστημόνων ἔσεσθαι, γεγήθαμεν οὐ μετρίως. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ χαρὰ οὐ παροῦσα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλπιζομένη ἀναχεῖ τε καὶ εὐφραίνει τὴν ψυχήν, εἰκότως τὸν Ἰσαὰκ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι ὀνόματός τε καὶ δωρεᾶς μεγάλης ἠξίωσε· γέλως γὰρ ψυχῆς καὶ χαρὰ καὶ εὐφροσύνη διερμηνεύεται οὗτος.

covenant" (*ibid.* 19). What is it, then, that has made this one too to be praised before his birth? Some good things benefit us when they have reached us and are present, as health, excellence of bodily senses, wealth perhaps, fame—for even these may be loosely called "good things";—some again not only when they have come, but when their coming has been foretold. For instance joy, a happy condition of the soul, gladdens not only when it is present and in active operation, but, when still an object of hope, brings an anticipatory brightness. For here again is a peculiar advantage which it possesses. While other good things take effect in virtue of their own particular goodness only, joy is both a particular and a general good. See how it comes to add to and enrich them all. We rejoice over health, and over liberty, and over honour, and over the other good things, so that we say with literal truth that nothing is good unless joy be attached to it. But we rejoice over the other good things not only when they have already come about beforehand and are present, but also when they are looked for in the future, as when we hope that we shall grow rich, or shall obtain office, or shall win praise, or shall discover a way of getting rid of disease, or shall obtain our share of health and strength, or shall be no longer ignorant, but men of knowledge, we are glad in no small measure. Seeing then, that joy, not only when present but when hoped for, causes the soul to overflow with gladness, God fitly held Isaac, even before he was begotten, worthy of his great name and therein of a vast endowment: for "Isaac" means laughter of soul and joy and gladness.

88 XXIX. Πάλιν δὲ τὸν Ἰακὼβ καὶ τὸν Ἠσαῦ
τὸν μὲν ἄρχοντα καὶ ἡγεμόνα καὶ δεσπότην τὸν
[105] δὲ Ἠσαῦ ὑπήκοον καὶ | δοῦλον ἔτι κατὰ γαστρὸς
ὄντας φησὶν εἶναι· ὁ γὰρ ζῳοπλάστης θεὸς ἐπί-
σταται τὰ ἑαυτοῦ καλῶς δημιουργήματα καὶ πρὶν
αὐτὰ εἰς ἄκρον διατορεῦσαι, τάς τε δυνάμεις,
αἷς αὖθις χρήσονται, καὶ συνόλως τὰ ἔργα τούτων
καὶ πάθη. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πορεύεται ἡ ὑπομονητικὴ
ψυχὴ Ῥεβέκκα πυθέσθαι παρὰ θεοῦ, ἀποκρίνεται
αὐτῇ, ὅτι "δύο ἔθνη ἐν τῇ γαστρί σού ἐστι, καὶ
δύο λαοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας σου διασταλήσονται, καὶ
λαὸς λαοῦ ὑπερέξει, καὶ ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ
89 ἐλάσσονι" (Gen. xxv. 23). φύσει γὰρ δοῦλον
παρὰ θεῷ τὸ φαῦλον καὶ ἄλογον, ἡγεμονικὸν δὲ
καὶ ἐλεύθερον τὸ ἀστεῖον καὶ λογικὸν καὶ ἄμεινον,
καὶ οὐχ ὅταν ἤδη γένηται ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τέλειον
ἑκάτερον, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἐνδοιάζηται· ὅλως γὰρ καὶ
μικρά τις αὔρα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀρχὴν καὶ ἡγεμονίαν,
οὐκ ἐλευθερίαν μόνον, ἐμφαίνει, καὶ ἔμπαλιν ἡ
τυχοῦσα κακίας γένεσις δουλοῖ τὸν λογισμόν, κἂν
μήπω τέλειον αὐτῆς ἐκφοιτήσῃ τὸ γέννημα.
90 XXX. Τί δὲ παθὼν ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος Ἰακώβ, τοῦ
Ἰωσὴφ τοὺς δύο υἱοὺς προσαγαγόντος τὸν πρε-
σβύτερον Μανασσῆν καὶ τὸν νεώτερον Ἐφραΐμ,
ἐναλλάττει τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν ἐπιτίθησι
τῷ νεωτέρῳ Ἐφραΐμ, τὴν δ' εὐώνυμον τῷ πρε-
σβυτέρῳ Μανασσῇ, καὶ βαρὺ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἡγησα-
μένου τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ καὶ οἰηθέντος τὸν πατέρα ἄκοντα
σφαλῆναι περὶ τὴν τῶν χειρῶν ἐπίθεσιν, φησίν·
οὐ διήμαρτον, ἀλλ' "οἶδα, τέκνον, οἶδα, καὶ οὗτος
ἔσται εἰς λαὸν καὶ οὗτος ὑψωθήσεται, ἀλλ' ὁ

[a] The words "and better" are perhaps an intrusion.

XXIX. Once again, of Jacob and Esau, when still in the womb, God declares that the one is a ruler and leader and master, but that Esau is a subject and a slave. For God the Maker of living beings knoweth well the different pieces of his own handiwork, even before He has thoroughly chiselled and consummated them, and the faculties which they are to display at a later time, in a word their deeds and experiences. And so when Rebecca, the soul that waits on God, goes to inquire of God, He tells her in reply, "Two nations are in thy womb, and two peoples shall be separated from thy belly, and one people shall be above the other people, and the elder shall serve the younger" (Gen. xxv. 23). For in God's judgement that which is base and irrational is by nature a slave, but that which is of fine character and endowed with reason and better [a] is princely and free. And this not only when either is full-grown in soul, but even if their development is still uncertain. For it is universally the case that even a slight breath of virtue is an evidence not of liberty merely but of leadership and sovereignty, and on the other hand that the most casual beginning of wickedness enslaves the reasoning faculty, even if its offspring have not yet come forth fully developed.

XXX. What led this same Jacob, when Joseph brought to him his two sons, the elder Manasseh and the younger Ephraim, to cross his hands and place his right hand on Ephraim the younger son and his left hand on Manasseh the elder; and when Joseph was distressed by it and imagined that his father had made an unintentional mistake in so placing his hands, to say it was no error, but "I know, my child, I know, this one too shall be a people,

ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ νεώτερος μείζων αὐτοῦ ἔσται"
91 (Gen. xlviii. 19). τί οὖν χρὴ λέγειν ἢ τοῦτο, ὅτι δύο φύσεις ἐδημιουργήθησαν ἐν ψυχῇ ὑπὸ θεοῦ σφόδρα ἀναγκαῖαι, μνήμη τε καὶ ἀνάμνησις; ἀμείνων μὲν ἡ μνήμη, χείρων δὲ ἡ ἀνάμνησις· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐναύλους ἔχει καὶ ἐναργεῖς τὰς καταλήψεις, ὡς μηδὲ[1] ἀγνοίᾳ διαμαρτεῖν, ἀναμνήσεως δὲ λήθη πάντως προηγεῖται, πηρὸν καὶ τυφλὸν
92 πρᾶγμα. πρεσβύτερον δὲ τὸ χεῖρον ἡ ἀνάμνησις εὑρίσκεται μνήμης τοῦ κρείττονος· * * * συνεχὲς καὶ ἀδιάστατον· οἱ γὰρ πρῶτον εἰς τὰς τέχνας εἰσαγόμενοι περικρατῆσαι τῶν εἰς αὐτὰς θεωρημάτων ἀδυνατοῦμεν εὐθύς· λήθῃ οὖν κατ' ἀρχὰς χρώμενοι πάλιν ἀναμιμνῃσκόμεθα, ἕως ἐκ τοῦ πολλάκις μὲν ἐκλαθέσθαι πολλάκις δὲ ἀναμνησθῆναι βέβαιος αὖθις μνήμη κρατήσει, παρὸ καὶ νεωτέρα —ὀψίγονος γάρ ἐστι—συνίσταται τῆς ἀναμνήσεως.
93 συμβολικῶς οὖν ὁ μὲν Ἐφραῒμ λέγεται μνήμη, καρποφορία γὰρ ἑρμηνεύεται, τῆς τοῦ φιλομαθοῦς ψυχῆς τὸν οἰκεῖον <καρπὸν> ἐννηνοχυίας, ὁπότε |
[106] διὰ μνήμης ἔχοι βεβαιοῦν τὰ θεωρήματα· ὁ δὲ Μανασσῆς ἀνάμνησις, μεταληφθεὶς γὰρ "ἐκ λήθης" εἶναι λέγεται, ὁ δὲ λήθην ἐκφεύγων ἀναμιμνῄσκεται πάντως. ὀρθότατα οὖν ὁ πτερνιστὴς τῶν παθῶν καὶ ἀσκητὴς ἀρετῆς Ἰακὼβ δεξιοῦται τὴν καρποφόρον μνήμην Ἐφραΐμ, δευτερείων δὲ ἀξιοῖ τὴν ἀνάμνησιν Μανασσῆν.

[1] μηδὲν conj. Wendland.

this one too shall be exalted, but his younger brother shall be greater than he"? (Gen. xlviii. 19). What, then, does it behove us to say but this, that two exceedingly necessary faculties were created in the soul by God, memory, and recollection? Of these memory is the better, recollection the inferior. For while the former keeps everything that it has apprehended fresh and distinct, so as to go wrong in nothing owing to ignorance, recollection is in all cases preceded by forgetfulness, a maimed and blind affair. But the inferior of these, recollection, is discovered to be older than the superior one, memory: [while recollection has many gaps of forgetfulness, memory is] unbroken and uninterrupted. For when we are being first introduced to the various arts we are unable at once to master their principles; so finding ourselves liable to forgetfulness at the outset, we afterwards recollect, until as the result of repeated forgetting and repeated recollecting an unfailing memory shall subsequently win the day. Accordingly memory, being late-born, is formed as recollection's younger sister. So then Ephraim is the figurative name of Memory, meaning "fruit-bearing," for the soul of the student has borne its proper fruit when it is able by means of memory to hold securely the principles of the art that is being learned. Manasseh, however, represents recollection, for the name is said to mean "out of forgetfulness" when translated, and he who escapes from forgetfulness necessarily recollects. Most rightly, therefore, does Jacob, the overthrower of the passions and the trained seeker of virtue, lay his right hand on Ephraim as fruitful memory, and count Manasseh, who is recollection, worthy of the second place.

94 Καὶ Μωυσῆς μέντοι τῶν θυόντων τὸ Φασὲκ τοὺς μὲν <τὸ> πρότερον θύσαντας μάλιστα ἐπαινεῖ, ὅτι διαβάντες ἀπὸ τῶν παθῶν Αἰγύπτου ἐπέμειναν τῇ διαβάσει καὶ οὐχ ὥρμησαν ἔτι ἐπ' αὐτά, τοὺς δὲ τὸ δεύτερον δευτερείων ἀξιοῖ (Num. ix. 6 ff.), τραπέντες γὰρ ἀνέδραμον τὴν τροπὴν καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπιλαθόμενοι τῶν πρακτέων πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ πράττειν ὥρμησαν αὐτά, οἱ δὲ πρότεροι ἄτρεπτοι διετέλεσαν. ἔοικεν οὖν τοῖς μὲν τὸ δεύτερον Πάσχα θύουσιν ὁ ἐκ λήθης Μανασσῆς, τοῖς δὲ τὸ πρότερον ὁ καρποφόρος Ἐφραΐμ.

95 XXXI. Ὅθεν καὶ Βεσελεὴλ ἀνακαλεῖ ὁ θεὸς ἐξ ὀνόματος καί φησιν αὐτῷ δωρήσασθαι σοφίαν καὶ ἐπιστήμην, καὶ δημιουργὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀρχιτέκτονα πάντων τῶν τῆς σκηνῆς, τουτέστι τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἔργων, ἀποδείξειν (Exod. xxxi. 2 ff.), μηδὲν ἔργον, ὃ κἂν ἐπαινέσειέ τις, προϋποδείξας αὐτοῦ. λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα τῇ ψυχῇ ἐντετύπωκεν ὁ θεὸς νομίσματος δοκίμου τρόπον. τίς οὖν ἐστιν ὁ χαρακτὴρ εἰσόμεθα, ἐὰν τὴν ἑρμηνείαν πρότερον
96 τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀκριβώσωμεν. ἑρμηνεύεται οὖν Βεσελεὴλ ἐν σκιᾷ θεοῦ· σκιὰ θεοῦ δὲ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐστιν, ᾧ καθάπερ ὀργάνῳ προσχρησάμενος ἐκοσμοποίει. αὕτη δὲ ἡ σκιὰ καὶ τὸ ὡσανεὶ ἀπεικόνισμα ἑτέρων ἐστὶν ἀρχέτυπον· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς παρά-

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[a] *i.e.*, "in the first month."
[b] *i.e.*, "in the second month."
[c] In Numb. ix. 6 ff. Philo interprets ἀκάθαρτοι of moral,

Moses also, to take another case, awards special praise among the sacrificers of the Passover to those who sacrificed the first time,[a] because when they had separated themselves from the passions of Egypt by crossing the Red Sea they kept to that crossing and no more hankered after them, but to those who sacrificed the second time [b] he assigns the second place, for after turning they retraced the wrong steps they had taken and as though they had forgotten their duties they set out again to perform them, while the earlier sacrificers held on without turning. So Manasseh, who comes " out of forgetfulness," corresponds to those who offer the second Passover, the fruit-bearing Ephraim to those who offer the earlier one.[c]

XXXI. This, moreover, is the reason of God's proclaiming Bezalel by name, and saying that He has given him wisdom and knowledge, and that He will appoint him artificer and chief craftsman of all the works of the Tabernacle, that is of the soul (Exod. xxxi. 2 ff.), though He has so far pointed to no work or deed of Bezalel's, such as to win him even commendation. We must say, then, that here too we have a form which God has stamped on the soul as on the tested coin. What, then, the image impressed on it is we shall know if we first ascertain accurately the meaning of the name. Bezalel means, then, " in the shadow of God " ; but God's shadow is His Word, which he made use of like an instrument, and so made the world. But this shadow, and what we may describe as the representation, is the archetype for further creations. For just as God is the

not ceremonial, uncleanness, as excluding from the keeping of the Passover in the first month.

δειγμα τῆς εἰκόνος, ἣν σκιὰν νυνὶ κέκληκεν, οὕτως ἡ εἰκὼν ἄλλων γίνεται παράδειγμα, ὡς καὶ ἐναρχόμενος τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐδήλωσεν εἰπών· "καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ" (Gen. i. 27), ὡς τῆς μὲν εἰκόνος κατὰ
[107] τὸν θεὸν ἀπεικονισθείσης, τοῦ δὲ ἀνθρώπου | κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα λαβοῦσαν δύναμιν παραδείγματος.

97 XXXII. Τίς οὖν ὁ ἐπιγινόμενος χαρακτήρ, θεασώμεθα. ἐζήτησαν οἱ πρῶτοι, πῶς ἐνοήσαμεν τὸ θεῖον, εἶθ' οἱ δοκοῦντες ἄριστα φιλοσοφεῖν ἔφασαν, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν μερῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐνυπαρχουσῶν τούτοις δυνάμεων ἀντί-
98 ληψιν ἐποιησάμεθα τοῦ αἰτίου· ὥσπερ γάρ, εἴ τις ἴδοι δεδημιουργημένην οἰκίαν ἐπιμελῶς προπυλαίοις στοαῖς ἀνδρῶσι γυναικωνίτισι τοῖς ἄλλοις οἰκοδομήμασιν, ἔννοιαν λήψεται τοῦ τεχνίτου—οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ τέχνης καὶ δημιουργοῦ νομιεῖ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀποτελεσθῆναι—τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ πόλεως καὶ νεὼς καὶ παντὸς ἐλάττονος ἢ μείζονος
99 κατασκευάσματος, οὕτως δὴ καὶ εἰσελθών τις ὥσπερ εἰς μεγίστην οἰκίαν ἢ πόλιν τόνδε τὸν κόσμον καὶ θεασάμενος οὐρανὸν μὲν ἐν κύκλῳ περιπολοῦντα καὶ πάντα ἐντὸς συνειληφότα, πλανήτας δὲ καὶ ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρας κατὰ ταὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως κινουμένους ἐμμελῶς τε καὶ ἐναρμονίως καὶ τῷ παντὶ ὠφελίμως, γῆν δὲ τὸν μέσον χῶρον λαχοῦσαν, ὕδατός τε καὶ ἀέρος χύσεις ἐν μεθορίῳ τεταγμένας, ἔτι δὲ ζῷα θνητά τε αὖ καὶ ἀθάνατα καὶ φυτῶν καὶ καρπῶν διαφοράς, λογιεῖται δήπου, ὅτι ταῦτα οὐκ ἄνευ τέχνης παντελοῦς δεδημιούργηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἦν καὶ ἔστιν ὁ τοῦδε τοῦ

[a] See App. p. 483.

Pattern of the Image, to which the title of Shadow has just been given, even so the Image becomes the pattern of other beings, as the prophet made clear at the very outset of the Law-giving by saying, " And God made the man after the Image of God " (Gen. i. 27), implying that the Image had been made such as representing God, but that the man was made after the Image when it had acquired the force of a pattern.

XXXII. Let us observe therefore what the character impressed is. The first men sought to find how we came to conceive of the Deity. Next those whose philosophy[a] was reputed the best declared that it was from the world and its constituent parts and the forces subsisting in these that we gained our apprehension of the First Cause. Should a man see a house carefully constructed with a gateway, colonnades, men's quarters, women's quarters, and the other buildings, he will get an idea of the artificer, for he will be of opinion that the house never reached that completeness without the skill of the craftsman ; and in like manner in the case of a city and a ship and every smaller or greater construction. Just so anyone entering this world, as it were some vast house or city, and beholding the sky circling round and embracing within it all things, and planets and fixed stars without any variation moving in rhythmical harmony and with advantage to the whole, and earth with the central space assigned to it, water and air flowing in set order as its boundary, and over and above these, living creatures, mortal and immortal beings, plants and fruits in great variety, he will surely argue that these have not been wrought without consummate art, but that the Maker of this

παντὸς δημιουργὸς ὁ θεός. οἱ δὴ οὕτως ἐπιλογιζόμενοι διὰ σκιᾶς τὸν θεὸν καταλαμβάνουσι, διὰ τῶν ἔργων τὸν τεχνίτην κατανοοῦντες.

100 XXXIII. Ἔστι δέ τις τελεώτερος καὶ μᾶλλον κεκαθαρμένος νοῦς τὰ μεγάλα μυστήρια μυηθείς, ὅστις οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν γεγονότων τὸ αἴτιον γνωρίζει, ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ σκιᾶς τὸ μένον, ἀλλ' ὑπερκύψας τὸ γενητὸν ἔμφασιν ἐναργῆ τοῦ ἀγενήτου λαμβάνει, ὡς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ αὐτὸν καταλαμβάνειν καὶ τὴν σκιὰν αὐτοῦ, ὅπερ ἦν τόν τε λόγον καὶ τόνδε τὸν κόσμον.

101 οὗτός ἐστι Μωυσῆς ὁ λέγων "Ἐμφάνισόν μοι σαυτόν, γνωστῶς ἴδω σε" (Exod. xxxiii. 13)· μὴ γὰρ ἐμφανισθείης μοι δι' οὐρανοῦ ἢ γῆς ἢ ὕδατος ἢ ἀέρος ἤ τινος ἁπλῶς τῶν ἐν γενέσει, μηδὲ κατοπτρισαίμην ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ τὴν σὴν ἰδέαν ἢ ἐν σοὶ τῷ θεῷ, αἱ γὰρ ἐν γενητοῖς ἐμφάσεις διαλύονται, αἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀγενήτῳ μόνιμοι καὶ βέβαιοι καὶ ἀίδιοι <ἂν> διατελοῖεν. διὰ τοῦτο Μωυσῆν

102 ἀνακέκληκε καὶ ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός. καὶ Βεσελεὴλ ἀνακέκληκεν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμοίως, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν τὴν ἔμφασιν τοῦ θεοῦ λαμβάνοντα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ αἰτίου, τὸν δὲ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σκιᾶς τῶν γενομένων τὸν τεχνίτην ἐξ ἐπιλογισμοῦ κατανοοῦντα. διὰ τοῦθ' εὑρήσεις τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τὰ σκεύη πάντα αὐτῆς πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Μωυσέως,
[108] αὖθις δ' ὑπὸ | Βεσελεὴλ κατασκευαζόμενα· Μωυσῆς μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἀρχέτυπα τεχνιτεύει, Βεσελεὴλ δὲ τὰ τούτων μιμήματα· χρῆται μὲν γὰρ Μωυσῆς

whole universe was and is God. Those, who thus base their reasoning on what is before their eyes, apprehend God by means of a shadow cast, discerning the Artificer by means of His works.

XXXIII. There is a mind more perfect and more thoroughly cleansed, which has undergone initiation into the great mysteries, a mind which gains its knowledge of the First Cause not from created things, as one may learn the substance from the shadow, but lifting its eyes above and beyond creation obtains a clear vision of the uncreated One, so as from Him to apprehend both Himself and His shadow. To apprehend that was, we saw, to apprehend both the Word and this world. The mind of which I speak is Moses who says, "Manifest Thyself to me, let me see Thee that I may know Thee" (Exod. xxxiii. 13); 'for I would not that Thou shouldst be manifested to me by means of heaven or earth or water or air or any created thing at all, nor would I find the reflection of Thy being in aught else than in Thee Who art God, for the reflections in created things are dissolved, but those in the Uncreate will continue abiding and sure and eternal.' This is why God hath expressly called Moses and why He spake to Him. Bezalel also He hath expressly called, but not in like manner. One receives the clear vision of God directly from the First Cause Himself. The other discerns the Artificer, as it were from a shadow, from created things by virtue of a process of reasoning. Hence you will find the Tabernacle and all its furniture made in the first instance by Moses but afterwards by Bezalel, for Moses is the artificer of the archetypes, and Bezalel of the copies of these. For Moses has God for

ὑφηγητῇ τῷ θεῷ, ὥς φησι· "κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα τὸ δεδειγμένον σοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει πάντα ποιήσεις"
103 (Exod. xxv. 40), Βεσελεὴλ δὲ Μωυσεῖ· καὶ εἰκότως· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε Ἀαρὼν ὁ λόγος καὶ Μαριὰμ ἡ αἴσθησις ἐπανίστανται, ῥητῶς ἀκούουσιν ὅτι, "ἐὰν γένηται προφήτης κυρίῳ, ἐν ὁράματι αὐτῷ γνωσθήσεται" καὶ ἐν σκιᾷ ὁ θεός, οὐκ ἐναργῶς, Μωυσεῖ δέ, ὅστις "πιστὸς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ, στόμα κατὰ στόμα λαλήσει, ἐν εἴδει καὶ οὐ δι' αἰνιγμάτων" (Num. xii. 6-8).

104 XXXIV. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν δύο φύσεις εὕρομεν γενομένας καὶ πλαττομένας καὶ ἄκρως τετορευμένας ὑπὸ θεοῦ, τὴν μὲν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς βλαβερὰν καὶ ἐπίληπτον καὶ κατάρατον, τὴν δὲ ὠφέλιμον καὶ ἐπαινετήν, καὶ ἔχουσαν τὴν μὲν κίβδηλον, τὴν δὲ δόκιμον χαρακτῆρα, καλὴν καὶ ἁρμόττουσαν εὐχὴν εὐξώμεθα, ἣν καὶ Μωυσῆς, "ἵν' ἡμῖν ἀνοίξῃ ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θησαυρὸν" (Deut. xxviii. 12) καὶ τὸν μετάρσιον καὶ ἐγκύμονα θείων φώτων λόγον, ὃν δὴ κέκληκεν οὐρανόν, τοὺς δὲ τῶν
105 κακῶν ἐπισφίγξῃ. εἰσὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἀγαθῶν οὕτω καὶ κακῶν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ θησαυροί, ὡς ἐν μεγάλῃ φησὶν ᾠδῇ· "οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα συνῆκται παρ' ἐμοί, καὶ ἐσφράγισται ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς μου, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως, ὅταν σφαλῇ ὁ πους αὐτῶν;" (Deut. xxxii. 34, 35) ὁρᾷς ὅτι κακῶν εἰσι θησαυροί· καὶ ὁ μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν εἷς—ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς εἷς, καὶ ἀγαθῶν θησαυρὸς <εἷς>—πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν κακῶν, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτάνοντες ἄπειροι τὸ πλῆθος.

[a] See App. p. 483.

Instructor, as He says "thou shalt make all things according to the pattern that was shown to thee in the mount" (Exod. xxv. 40), but Bezalel is instructed by Moses. And all this is just as we should expect. For on the occasion likewise of the rebellion of Aaron, Speech, and Miriam, Perception, they are expressly told "If a prophet be raised up unto the Lord, God shall be known unto him in a vision" and in a shadow, not manifestly; but with Moses, the man who is "faithful in all His house, He will speak mouth to mouth in manifest form and not through dark speeches" (Numb. xii. 6-8).

XXXIV. Seeing then that we have found two natures created, undergoing moulding, and chiselled into full relief by God's hands, the one essentially hurtful, blameworthy, and accursed, the other beneficial and praiseworthy, stamped the one with a counterfeit, the other with a genuine impression, let us offer a noble and suitable prayer, which Moses offered before us, "that God may open to us His own treasury" (Deut. xxviii. 12) and that sublime reason pregnant with divine illumination,[a] to which He has given the title of "heaven"; and that He may close up the treasuries of evil things. For there are with God treasuries as of good things so also of evil things, as He saith in the great Song,[b] "Are not these laid up in store with Me, sealed up in My treasuries in the day of vengeance, when their foot shall have slipped?" (Deut. xxxii. 34 f.). You see that there are treasuries of evil things. And the treasury of good things is one, for since God is One, there is likewise one treasury of good things. But of evil things there are many treasuries, for countless too

[b] Philo often refers to Deuteronomy xxxii. under this title.

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ σκόπει τὴν τοῦ ὄντος ἀγα-
θότητα· τὸν μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν θησαυρὸν ἀνοίγει,
τοὺς δὲ τῶν κακῶν ἐπισφίγγει· θεοῦ γὰρ ἴδιον
τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ προτείνειν καὶ φθάνειν δωρούμενον,
106 τὰ δὲ κακὰ μὴ ῥᾳδίως ἐπάγειν. Μωυσῆς δὲ καὶ
ἐπιτείνων τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ φιλόδωρον καὶ χαριστικὸν
οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ χρόνῳ φησὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς
τῶν κακῶν ἐσφραγίσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν ἡ ψυχὴ
σφαλῇ κατὰ τὴν βάσιν τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου, ὁπότε
καὶ ἄξιον ἦν αὐτὴν δίκης ἀξιοῦσθαι· <ἐν> ἡμέρᾳ
γάρ φησιν ἐκδικήσεως ἐσφραγίσθαι τοὺς τῶν
κακῶν θησαυρούς, δεικνύντος τοῦ ἱεροῦ λόγου,
ὅτι οὐδὲ τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν εὐθὺς ἐπέξεισιν ὁ θεός,
ἀλλὰ δίδωσι χρόνον εἰς μετάνοιαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ
σφάλματος ἴασίν τε καὶ ἐπανόρθωσιν.

107 XXXV. "Καὶ εἶπε κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ ὄφει
Ἐπικατάρατος σὺ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ
ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς" (Gen. iii. 14).
ὥσπερ ἡ χαρὰ εὐπάθεια οὖσα εὐχῆς ἐστιν ἐπαξία,
οὕτως κατάρας ἡδονή, τὸ πάθος, ἡ μεταθεῖσα
τοὺς ὅρους τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ κατασκευάσασα αὐτὴν
[109] ἀντὶ φιλαρέτου | φιλοπαθῆ· φησὶ δὲ Μωυσῆς ἐν
ταῖς ἀραῖς, ἐπικατάρατον εἶναι τὸν μετατιθέντα
τὰ ὅρια τοῦ πλησίον (Deut. xxvii. 17)· ὅρον γὰρ
ἔθηκε καὶ νόμον ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν τῇ ψυχῇ, τὸ
τῆς ζωῆς ξύλον· τοῦτον δὲ μετατέθεικεν <ὁ>
108 πήξας ὅρον κακίαν, ξύλον θανάτου. "ἐπικατ-
άρατος μέντοι καὶ ὁ πλανῶν τυφλὸν ἐν ὁδῷ"
(Deut. xxvii. 18), "καὶ ὁ τύπτων τὸν πλησίον
δόλῳ" (ib. 24). καὶ ταῦτα δ' ἐργάζεται ἡ
ἀθεωτάτη ἡδονή· τυφλὸν γὰρ φύσει ἡ αἴσθησις

[a] See Vol. II., App. p. 495, note on *Quod et.* 120.

are those that sin. But here too observe the goodness of Him who IS. The treasury of good things He opens, those of evil things He closes. For it is God's property to hold out good things and to be beforehand in bestowing them, but to be slow to inflict evil things. But Moses, magnifying God's love of giving gifts and granting favours, says that the treasuries of evil things are sealed up not only at other times, but also when the soul fails to direct its steps in keeping with the right principle; and yet then it might justly have been deemed worthy of punishment. For he says that the treasuries of evil things were sealed in the day of vengeance, the sacred word thus showing that not even against those who sin will God proceed at once, but gives time for repentance and for the healing and setting on his feet again of him who had slipped.

XXXV. "And the Lord God said to the serpent, Cursed art thou from among all cattle and from among all the beasts of the earth" (Gen. iii. 14). Just as joy, being a good condition of soul,[a] deserves prayer, so pleasure, the passion *par excellence*, deserves cursing; it shifts the standards of the soul and renders it a lover of passion instead of a lover of virtue:—"Accursed," says Moses in the Curses, "is he who removes his neighbour's landmarks" (Deut. xxvii. 17):—for God set as a landmark and law for the soul virtue, the tree of life. This is removed by the man who has fixed as landmark in its stead wickedness, the tree of death. "Cursed again is he who causes a blind man to go astray in the way" (Deut. xxvii. 18), "and he that smiteth his neighbour craftily" (*ibid.* 24). And these also are acts of pleasure, the utterly godless one; for sense by itself

ἅτε ἄλογος οὖσα, ἐπεὶ τὸ λογικὸν ἐξομματοῦται· παρὸ καὶ μόνῳ τούτῳ τὰ πράγματα καταλαμβάνομεν, αἰσθήσει δ' οὐκέτι, μόνα γὰρ τὰ σώματα
109 φαντασιούμεθα δι' αἰσθήσεως. τὴν οὖν πηρὰν αἴσθησιν τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντιλήψεως ἐξηπάτηκεν, εἴ γε δυναμένην ἐπὶ νοῦν τρέπεσθαι καὶ ἡνιοχεῖσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κεκώλυκεν, ἐπὶ τὸ ἐκτὸς αἰσθητὸν ἀγαγοῦσα καὶ λίχνον αὐτὴν ἀπεργασαμένη τοῦ ἑαυτῆς ποιητικοῦ, ἵνα ἡ μὲν αἴσθησις πηρὸς οὖσα ἀκολουθῇ τυφλῷ ποδηγῷ τῷ αἰσθητῷ, ὁ δὲ νοῦς, ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων ποδηγούμενος οὐ βλεπόντων, ἐκτραχηλίζηται καὶ ἀκρατὴς ἑαυτοῦ γίνηται.
110 εἰ γάρ τις ἦν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἀκολουθία, τῷ βλέποντι λογισμῷ τὰ πηρὰ ἐχρῆν ἕπεσθαι, οὕτως γὰρ ἂν τὰ βλαβερὰ ἐπεκουφίζετο· νυνὶ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἔστησε μηχάνημα κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς, ὥστε ἡγεμόσιν αὐτὴν χρῆσθαι τυφλοῖς ἠνάγκασε, παρακρουσαμένη καὶ ἀναπείσασα κακῶν ἀρετὴν ἀλλάξαι καὶ ἀντιδοῦναι πονηρῶν ἀκακίαν. XXXVI. ἀπείρηκε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀντίδοσιν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος, ὅταν φῇ· "οὐκ ἀλλάξεις καλὸν πονηρῷ" (Lev.
111 xxvii. 33). ἐπικατάρατος δὴ διὰ ταῦτα ἡ ἡδονή. ἃ δὲ καταρᾶται αὐτῇ, ἴδωμεν ὡς προσφυᾶ. ἀπὸ πάντων φησὶ τῶν κτηνῶν ἐπάρατον εἶναι (Gen. iii. 14). οὐκοῦν κτηνῶδες μέν ἐστι τὸ ἄλογον καὶ αἰσθητικόν, ἑκάστη δὲ αἴσθησις

is a blind thing, inasmuch as it is irrational, for it is the reasoning faculty that confers sight. Accordingly it is with the reason only that we apprehend matters; sense does not carry us so far; for by means of sense we gain impressions only of the material forms of things. Pleasure, then, has cheated poor maimed sense of the power of apprehending matters, inasmuch as, when it could have had recourse to mind and have secured it for its charioteer, it has prevented it, leading it to what can be perceived externally only, and by giving it a craving for that which produces pleasure, to the end that sense, being a maimed thing, may follow a blind guide, namely that which sense can perceive, and that the mind, led by this pair of blind guides, may be brought to the ground and robbed of self-control. For if there had been any correspondence with what nature prescribes, it would have been incumbent upon the maimed faculties to follow the reasoning faculty which has eyes, for in this way the damage incurred would have been diminished. As it is, pleasure has organized such a shrewd device against the soul, that it has compelled it to employ blind guides, inducing it by delusive wiles to change virtue for evil things, and to surrender its innocence and receive wickedness in lieu of it. Such an exchange too is forbidden by the holy word, when it says, "Thou shalt not change good with evil" (Lev. xxvii. 33).

Accursed on these grounds is pleasure. Let us see how appropriate the curses are which He pronounces upon it. He says that it is cursed from all cattle (Gen. iii. 14). Our irrational faculty of sense-perception, then, is of the cattle kind, and each of our senses curses

ἡδονῇ καταρᾶται ὡς πολεμιωτάτῃ καὶ ἐχθίστῃ· καὶ γάρ ἐστι τῷ ὄντι πολέμιος αἰσθήσει· τεκμήριον δέ, ὅταν ἡδονῆς ἀμέτρου κορεσθῶμεν, οὔθ' ὁρᾶν οὔτ' ἀκούειν οὔτ' ὀσφραίνεσθαι οὔτε γεύεσθαι οὔθ' ἅπτεσθαι εἰλικρινῶς δυνάμεθα, ἀλλ' ἀμυδρὰς
112 καὶ ἀσθενεῖς ποιούμεθα τὰς προσβολάς. καὶ τοῦτο μέν, ὅταν ἐπίσχωμεν τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτῆς, πάσχομεν· ἐν αὐταῖς δ' ὄντες ταῖς τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀπολαύσεσι κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς καὶ τὴν διὰ τῶν συνεργουσῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀντίληψιν ἀφαιρούμεθα, ὡς δοκεῖν πεπηρῶσθαι. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἀρὰς θεῖτο αἴσθησις τῇ πηρούσῃ αὐτὴν ἡδονῇ;
113 [110] XXXVII. | ἐπικατάρατος δέ ἐστι καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὰ θηρία, λέγω δὴ τὰ πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς, τούτοις γὰρ νοῦς τιτρώσκεται καὶ διαφθείρεται. διὰ τί οὖν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν χείρων εἶναι δοκεῖ; ὅτι σχεδὸν ὑποβέβληται πᾶσιν, ὥσπερ τις ἀρχὴ καὶ θεμέλιος· ἥ τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμία γέγονε δι' ἔρωτος ἡδονῆς, ἥ τε λύπη συνίσταται κατὰ τὴν ταύτης ἀφαίρεσιν, φόβος τε αὖ γεννᾶται δι' εὐλάβειαν ἀπουσίας αὐτῆς· ὥστε δῆλον εἶναι, ὅτι πάντα ἐφορμεῖ τὰ πάθη τῇ ἡδονῇ, καὶ οὐδ' ἂν συνέστη τὸ παράπαν ἴσως ἐκεῖνα, εἰ μὴ προκατεβλήθη τὸ οἰστικὸν αὐτῶν ἡδονή.

114 XXXVIII. "Ἐπὶ τῷ στήθει καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ πορεύσῃ" (Gen. iii. 14). περὶ γὰρ ταῦτα φωλεύει τὰ μέρη τὸ πάθος, τά τε στέρνα καὶ τὴν γαστέρα, ὅταν μὲν ἔχῃ τὰ ποιητικὰ καὶ τὰς ὕλας ἡ ἡδονή, περὶ τὴν γαστέρα καὶ τὰ μετ' αὐτήν, ὅταν <δ'> ἀπορῇ, περὶ τὰ στήθη, ὅπου ὁ θυμός· οἱ γὰρ

pleasure as a most deadly enemy: for it is in very deed hostile to sense, as is proved by the fact that, when we have glutted ourselves with immoderate pleasure, we cannot see nor hear nor smell nor taste nor feel with clearness, but our contact with objects of sense is dim and feeble. This is what we experience when we have ceased from indulging in pleasure; but when we are in the very midst of the enjoyments it affords, we find ourselves utterly deprived of the support that we obtain through the co-operation of the senses, to such an extent that we seem to have been maimed. How, then, should not sense rightly lay curses on pleasure that maims it? XXXVII. It is cursed also beyond all the wild beasts. By these I mean the passions of the soul, for by these the mind is wounded and destroyed, Why, then, is it accounted worse than the other passions? Because it is, we may say, at the bottom of them all, like a kind of starting-point and foundation. Lust comes into play through love of pleasure; pain arises as pleasure is withdrawn; fear again is engendered owing to a dread of being without pleasure. It is clear, then, that all the passions depend on pleasure, and these would perchance never have taken shape at all, if first there had not been deposited that which is productive of them, pleasure.

XXXVIII. "On thy breast and belly shalt thou go" (Gen. iii. 14). For passion has its lair in these parts of the body, the breast and the belly. When pleasure has the materials it needs to produce it, it haunts the belly and the parts below it. But when it is at a loss for these materials, it occupies the breast where wrath is; for lovers of pleasure when

φιλήδονοι στερόμενοι τῶν ἡδονῶν ὀργίζονται καὶ
115 παραπικραίνονται. ἔτι δὲ ἀκριβέστερον ἴδωμεν τὸ δηλούμενον. τριμερῆ συμβέβηκε τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν εἶναι καὶ ἔχειν μέρος μὲν ἓν λογιστικόν, δεύτερον δὲ θυμικόν, τρίτον δὲ ἐπιθυμητικόν. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν τῶν φιλοσόφων τὰ μέρη ταῦτα δυνάμει μόνον διέκριναν ἀλλήλων, τινὲς δὲ καὶ τόποις· εἶτα ἔνειμαν τῷ μὲν λογιστικῷ τὸν περὶ κεφαλὴν χῶρον εἰπόντες, ὅπου ὁ βασιλεύς, ἐκεῖ καὶ οἱ δορυφόροι, δορυφόροι δὲ αἱ αἰσθήσεις τοῦ νοῦ περὶ κεφαλὴν οὖσαι, ὥστε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἴη ἂν ἐκεῖ, ὥσπερ ἄκραν ἐν πόλει λαχὼν οἰκεῖν, τῷ δὲ θυμικῷ τὰ στέρνα, παρὸ καὶ τὴν φύσιν ὀχυρῶσαι τὸ μέρος πυκνότητι καὶ κραταιότητι συνεχῶν ὀστέων ὥσπερ στρατιώτην ἀγαθὸν καθοπλίσασαν θώρακι καὶ ἀσπίδι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐναντιουμένων ἄμυναν, τῷ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικῷ τὸν περὶ τὸ ἦτρον καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν τόπον, ἐνταῦθα γὰρ κατοικεῖ ἐπιθυμία, ὄρεξις
116 ἄλογος. XXXIX. ἐὰν οὖν ποτε ζητῇς, ὦ διάνοια, τίνα χῶρον ἡδονὴ κεκλήρωται, μὴ σκέπτου τὸν περὶ κεφαλὴν τόπον, ὅπου τὸ λογιστικόν, οὐ γὰρ μὴ εὑρήσεις, ἐπεὶ μάχεται ὁ λόγος τῷ πάθει καὶ ἐν ταὐτῷ μένειν οὐ δύναται· κρατοῦντος μὲν γὰρ λόγου φροῦδος ἡ ἡδονή, νικώσης δὲ ἡδονῆς φυγὰς ὁ λόγος· ζήτει δ᾽ ἐν στήθει καὶ κοιλίᾳ, ὅπου ὁ θυμὸς καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία, μέρη τοῦ ἀλόγου· ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ εὑρίσκεται καὶ ἡ κρίσις ἡ

[a] See App. p. 478, note on *L.A.* i. 70.

deprived of their pleasures grow bitter and angry. Let us look still more carefully at the thing signified. Our soul consists of three parts, and has one part given to reasoning, a second to high spirit, a third to desire. Some philosophers [a] have distinguished these parts from each other in regard to function, some in regard also to the places which they occupy. These have gone on to assign to the reasoning part the region of the head, saying that, where the king is, there are also his bodyguards, and that the senses which are in the region of the head are bodyguards of the mind, and that it follows that the king must be there too, having had it allotted to him, like a castle in a city, for his dwelling. To the spirited part they assign the breast, pointing out that nature has given that part firmness by means of a strong and solid array of continuous bones, as though she were arming a good soldier with shield and breastplate for defence against opponents. To the lustful portion of the soul they assign the quarter about the abdomen and the belly, for there it is that lust, irrational craving, has its abode.

XXXIX. If, therefore, O mind, thou art ever inquiring what quarter pleasure has for her portion, do not consider the place occupied by the head, where the reasoning faculty resides, for thou wilt assuredly not find it there, since reason is at war with passion, and cannot remain in the same place with it. For when reason prevails pleasure is gone, and when pleasure conquers, reason is an exile. But look for it in the breast and belly, where high spirit and desire are, portions of the irrational: for in the irrational is to be found alike our faculty of

117 ἡμετέρα καὶ τὰ πάθη. οὐ κεκώλυται οὖν νοῦς
ἐκβὰς τῶν νοητῶν καὶ οἰκείων ἐπιβολῶν ἐκ-
δοθῆναι τῷ χείρονι· τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνει, ὅταν ὁ
ψυχῆς κρατήσῃ πόλεμος· ἀνάγκη γὰρ δορυάλωτον
[111] γίνεσθαι τὸν μὴ μάχιμον | ἀλλ' εἰρηναῖον [τὸν] ἐν
ἡμῖν λογισμόν.

118 XL. Εἰδὼς γοῦν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος ὅσον ἡ ἑκατέρου
δύναται ὁρμὴ πάθους, θυμοῦ τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίας,
ἑκάτερον ἐπιστομίζει, ἡνίοχον καὶ κυβερνήτην
ἐφιστὰς τὸν λόγον. καὶ πρότερον περὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ,
θεραπεύων αὐτὸν καὶ ἰώμενος, διαλέγεται οὕτως·
119 "καὶ ἐπιθήσεις ἐπὶ τὸ λόγιον τῶν κρίσεων τὴν
δήλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ
στήθους Ἀαρών, ὅταν εἰσέρχηται εἰς τὸ ἅγιον
ἐναντίον κυρίου" (Exod. xxviii. 30). λόγιον οὖν
ἐστιν ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ φωνητήριον ὄργανον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν
ὁ γεγωνὼς λόγος· οὗτος δὲ ἢ ἀκριτόμυθός ἐστι καὶ
ἀδόκιμος ἢ κεκριμένος καὶ δόκιμος· εἰς ἔννοιαν δ'
ἡμᾶς ἄγει λόγου τοῦ κατὰ διάκρισιν· τὸ γὰρ λόγιόν
φησιν οὐ τὸ ἄκριτον ἢ κίβδηλον, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν
κρίσεων, ἴσον τῷ διακεκριμένον καὶ ἐξητασμένον
120 τούτου δὲ τοῦ δοκίμου λόγου δύο ἀρετάς φησιν
εἶναι τὰς ἀνωτάτω, σαφήνειαν καὶ ἀληθότητα, καὶ
πάνυ ὀρθῶς· ὁ γὰρ λόγος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παρῆκε
τοῦ σαφῆ ποιῆσαι καὶ δῆλα τὰ πράγματα τῷ
πλησίον, μὴ δυνηθέντων ἡμῶν τὸ ἐγγενόμενον τῇ

[a] By emphasizing "our" Philo perhaps means that the faculties of the Soul of the Universe are not hampered, as are ours, in choosing what course to take, by desire or ambition or shrinking from pain. Plutarch says that in face of the fact that human faculties are thus hampered, some philosophers said that our πάθη are λόγοι or κρίσεις, *i.e.* exercises of reason in choosing; while others said that every virtue has in it an

choice [a] and the passions. Well, there is nothing to prevent the mind from going out from the purely intellectual interests which are proper to it and giving itself up to its inferior. This happens when war prevails in the soul; [b] for then reason, that is in us not as a combative but as a peaceful inmate, cannot fail to become a prisoner of war.

XL. For look now: the Sacred Word knowing how strong is the impulse of either passion, of both high spirit and lust, puts a curb on each of them, by setting over them reason as a charioteer and pilot. And in the first place this is how it discourses concerning high spirit, aiming at curing and healing it: "And thou shalt put on to the oracle of the judgements the Showing and the Truth, and it shall be upon Aaron's breast, whenever he enters into the Holy Place before the Lord" (Exod. xxviii. 30). The "oracle," then, is in us the organ of speech, which is the uttered word: and this may either be rejected as spoken at random or may be approved as well-judged: but the sacred writer is leading us to think of the word spoken with judgement and discernment; for he tells us that the oracle is not the untested or counterfeit one, but "the oracle of the judgements," an expression tantamount to "well tested and examined." To this approved word he says that the two virtues belong, the highest possible, clearness and truthfulness. Quite rightly does he say so. For reason at the outset fell short of making matters clear and evident to another, since we have no power to exhibit the affection called out in the

element of fear, or desire for pleasure or for gain. See Plutarch, *De Animae Procreatione in Timaeo*, 26 (=ii. 1025 D).

[b] Literally "when the soul's war shall have prevailed" (over peace).

ψυχῇ πάθος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἐπιδείξασθαι οὐδ᾿ οἷον ἦν παραστῆσαι· XLI. διόπερ ἠναγκάσθημεν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ διὰ φωνῆς σύμβολα, ὀνόματα καὶ ῥήματα, ἃ δεῖ πάντως εἶναι γνώριμα, ἵνα σαφῶς καὶ ἐκδήλως ὁ πλησίον ἐκλάβηται· ἔπειτα τοῦ
121 ἀληθῶς αὐτὰ ἀπαγγεῖλαι· τί γὰρ ὄφελος τρανὴν μὲν καὶ σαφῆ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ποιεῖσθαι, ψευδῆ δὲ ἄλλως; ἀνάγκη γὰρ οὕτως ἐχόντων ἀπατᾶσθαι τὸν ἀκροατὴν καὶ μεγίστην καρποῦσθαι συμφοράν, μετὰ ἀγνοίας ἀπαιδευσίαν· τί γάρ, ἂν λέγω τῷ παιδὶ τρανῶς καὶ σαφῶς δείξας τὸ ἄλφα στοιχεῖον ὅτι ἐστὶ γάμμα ἢ τὸ ἦτα ὅτι ἐστὶν ω̅; ἢ ὁ μουσικὸς λέγῃ τῷ πρῶτα εἰσαγομένῳ δεικνὺς τὸ ἐναρμόνιον ὅτι χρῶμά ἐστιν, ἢ τὸ χρωματικὸν ὅτι διατονικόν, ἢ τὴν ὑπάτην ὅτι μέση, ἢ τὸ συνημμένον ὅτι διεζευγμένον, ἢ τὴν ὑπερβολαίαν ὅτι
122 προσλαμβανόμενος; τρανῶς μὲν ἴσως καὶ σαφῶς ἐρεῖ, οὐκ ἀληθῶς δέ, ἀλλὰ ταύτῃ κακίαν ἐργάσεται τὴν ἐν λόγῳ· ὅταν δὲ ἀμφότερα καὶ σαφήνειαν καὶ ἀληθότητα ποιῆται, ὠφέλιμον παρέξει τῷ μανθάνοντι τὸν λόγον, χρησάμενος ταῖς δυσὶν ἀρεταῖς αὐτοῦ, ἃς καὶ μόνας σχεδὸν εἶναι συμβέβηκέ που.

123 XLII. Φησὶν οὖν ἱδρῦσθαι τὸν κεκριμένον λόγον ἔχοντα τὰς ἰδίας ἀρετὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους δηλονότι Ἀαρών, τουτέστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ, ἵν᾿ οὗτος ἡνιοχῆται λόγῳ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ μὴ ὑπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ

[a] Or "which need to be thoroughly known."

soul by external things nor to convey an idea of its character. XLI. Wherefore we were compelled to resort to signs given by means of the voice, nouns and verbs, which cannot fail to be intelligible,[a] that the other may get a clear and unmistakable idea of our meaning. (This was reason's first inadequacy.) In the second place, it was inadequate to report things truly. For what is the good of giving a clear and distinct expression, if it be in other respects false? For under these circumstances the hearer must needs be deceived and incur a very great misfortune, being not merely ignorant but ill-taught into the bargain. For what if, pointing to the letter alpha I say to the boy clearly and distinctly that it is gamma, or to eta and tell him that it is omega? Or what if the music-master tells the beginner as he points to the enharmonic genus that it is the chromatic, or says of the chromatic that it is the diatonic, or of the note on the highest string that it is the central, or of the conjunct that it is the disjunct tetrachord, or of the highest tone in the tetrachord scale that it is the lowest? He will speak clearly and distinctly, it may be, but not truly. But in this way he will be a doer of evil—of the evil that belongs to speech. But when he attains both of these requisites, both clearness and truthfulness, he will render the word beneficial to the pupil, bringing into play its two virtues, perhaps the only virtues indeed which it possesses.

XLII. It says, then, that the tested word, having the virtues which are peculiarly its own, was enthroned upon the breast (Aaron's namely), that is, upon the spirited element, that this might first of all be guided by reason, and not injured by its own

ἀλογίας βλάπτηται, εἶτα δὲ σαφηνείᾳ, οὐ πέφυκε
[112] γὰρ ὁ θυμὸς σαφηνείας εἶναι φίλος· τῶν | γοῦν ὀργιζομένων οὐ μόνον ἡ διάνοια ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ῥήματα ταραχῆς καὶ συγχύσεως γέμει· οἰκεῖον οὖν ἦν τὴν τοῦ θυμοῦ ἀσάφειαν ἐπανορθωθῆναι
124 σαφηνείᾳ· ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀληθότητι, μετὰ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τοῦτο ἔχει ὁ θυμὸς ἴδιον, τὸ ψεύδεσθαι· τῶν γοῦν χρωμένων τῷ πάθει τούτῳ σχεδὸν οὐδεὶς ἀληθεύει, ἅτε μέθῃ κεκρατημένος ψυχῆς, οὐ σώματος. ταῦτα ἀλεξιφάρμακα τοῦ θυμικοῦ μέρους ἐστί· λόγος, σαφήνεια λόγου, ἀλήθεια αὐτοῦ· ἓν γάρ ἐστι δυνάμει τὰ τρία, λόγος σὺν ἀρεταῖς ἀληθότητι καὶ σαφηνείᾳ θυμὸν νόσημα χαλεπὸν ψυχῆς ἰώμενος.

125 XLIII. Τίνος οὖν ἐστι φέρειν ταῦτα; οὐχὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἢ τῆς ‹τοῦ› τυχόντος διανοίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἱερωμένης καὶ θυούσης καθαρῶς, τῆς Ἀαρών· καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτης ἀεί, πολλάκις γὰρ τρέπεται, ἀλλ᾿ ὅταν ἀτρέπτως διάγῃ, ὅταν εἰσπορεύηται εἰς τὸ ἅγιον, ὅταν συνεισπορεύηται ὁ λογισμὸς ταῖς ἁγίαις γνώμαις καὶ μὴ τούτων ἀποδιδράσκῃ.
126 ἀλλὰ πολλάκις συνεισέρχεται μὲν ὁ νοῦς εἰς ἱερὰς καὶ ὁσίους καὶ κεκαθαρμένας δόξας, ἀλλὰ ἀνθρωπείους ταύτας, οἷον τὰς περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων, τὰς περὶ τῶν κατορθωμάτων, τὰς περὶ τῶν θέσει νομίμων, τὰς περὶ τῆς κατ᾿ ἀνθρώπους ἀρετῆς· οὐδ᾿ ὁ τοῦτον διακείμενος τὸν τρόπον ἱκανός ἐστι

irrationality; in the next place by clearness, for it is not the nature of anger to be a friend of clearness. Do we not see in those who are enraged how not their understanding only but their words also are full of disturbance and confusion? It was appropriate therefore that anger's lack of clearness should be set right again by clearness. It must be guided in the third place by truthfulness, for together with its other faults anger has this one also as peculiarly its own, that of lying. As a matter of experience, of those who give way to this passion, hardly one speaks the truth. They are victims of an intoxication not of body but of soul. These are antidotes for the region of anger; reason, clearness of speech, truth of speech. For the three are virtually one, since reason, accompanied by the two virtues of truthfulness and distinctness, acts as a healer of anger, that sore sickness of the soul.

XLIII. To whom, then, does it pertain to bear these? Not to my understanding or to that of any chance comer, but to that which exercises its priesthood and offers sacrifices in purity, that of Aaron, and not even to this always, for many a time it turns and fails, but when it continues free from turning, when it enters into the Holy Place, when the reasoning faculty enters in together with holy resolves and does not abandon these. But full often does the mind enter with these into sacred and holy and purified opinions, but these are mere human opinions, as for instance those concerning simple duties, those concerning high-standard actions, those concerning usages resting on human enactment, those concerning virtue conforming to human standards. Not even he who is in such case as this

τὸ λόγιον φέρειν ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους μετὰ τῶν ἀρετῶν, ἀλλὰ μόνος ὁ ἐναντίον κυρίου εἰσιών, τουτέστιν ὁ ἕνεκα θεοῦ πάντα πράττων καὶ μηδὲν τῶν μετὰ θεὸν ὑπερτιμῶν, ἀλλὰ νέμων μὲν καὶ τούτοις τὰ κατ' ἀξίαν, μὴ ἱστάμενος μέντοι ἐπ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἀνατρέχων ἐπὶ τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ ἐπι-
127 στήμην καὶ τιμὴν τοῦ ἑνός· τῷ γὰρ οὕτως διακειμένῳ ἡνιοχηθήσεται ὁ θυμὸς ὑπό τε λόγου κεκαθαρμένου τὸ ἄλογον αὐτοῦ περιαιροῦντος καὶ ὑπὸ σαφηνείας τὸ ἀσαφὲς καὶ συγκεχυμένον θεραπευούσης καὶ ὑπὸ ἀληθότητος τὸ ψεῦδος ἀπο-
128 κοπτούσης. XLIV. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀαρὼν—δεύτερος γάρ ἐστι Μωυσῆ ἐκτέμνοντος τὸ στῆθος, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸν θυμόν—οὐκ ἐᾷ αὐτὸν ἀκρίτοις ὁρμαῖς ἐκφέρεσθαι, δεδιὼς μή ποτε ἀφεθεὶς ἵππου τρόπον ἀνασκιρτήσας ὅλην πατήσῃ τὴν ψυχήν, ἀλλὰ θεραπεύει καὶ ἐπιστομίζει τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λόγῳ, ἵνα ἡνιόχῳ χρώμενος ἀρίστῳ μὴ σφόδρα ἀφηνιάσῃ, ἔπειτα δὲ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς τοῦ λόγου, σαφηνείᾳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ· εἰ γὰρ παιδευθείη ὁ θυμὸς οὕτως, ὥστε καὶ λόγῳ εἴκειν καὶ σαφηνείᾳ καὶ τὸ ἀψευδὲς ἀσκεῖν, ἑαυτόν τε τῆς πολλῆς ζέσεως ἀπαλλάξει τήν θ' ὅλην ψυχὴν ἵλεων κατασκευάσει.

129 XLV. Ἀλλ' οὗτος μέν, ὡς ἔφην, ἔχων τὸ πάθος ἰᾶσθαι αὐτὸ πειρᾶται τοῖς λεχθεῖσι σωτηρίοις φαρ-
[113] μάκοις, Μωυσῆς δὲ ὅλον τὸν | θυμὸν ἐκτέμνειν καὶ ἀποκόπτειν οἴεται δεῖν τῆς ψυχῆς, οὐ μετριοπάθειαν ἀλλὰ συνόλως ἀπάθειαν ἀγαπῶν. μαρτυρεῖ

[a] See App. p. 483.

is sufficient to bear the oracle upon his breast with the virtues that belong to it, but he only who goes in in the sight of the Lord, that is he who does all things for God's sake, and overvalues none of the things that are of less importance than God, but accords to these also all they deserve, not, however, stopping at them, but mounting up in the endeavour to acquaint himself with and know and honour the One. For he who is in this case will have his spirited element charioteered by purified reason, which will abolish all that is irrational in him, and by clearness, which will heal all that is uncertain and confused, and by truthfulness, which will eliminate falsehood. XLIV. Aaron, then, being inferior to Moses who cuts the breast, that is the spirited element, clean out—suffers it not to be carried away by random impulses, for he is afraid that, if it be given the rein, it may some day get unmanageable, as a horse does, and trample down all the soul. No, he curbs and controls it, first by reason, that being driven by an excellent charioteer it may not get too restive; next he employs the virtues of speech, distinctness, and truth. For if high spirit be trained in this manner, so as to yield to reason and distinctness, and also to exercise itself in eschewing falsehood, it will not only rid itself of much ferment, but will render the whole soul gentle.

XLV. Well, Aaron, as I have said, having this passion, attempts to cure it by the saving medicines that have been mentioned. Moses, on the other hand, thinks it necessary to use the knife on the seat of anger in its entirety, and to cut it clean out of the soul, for no moderation of passion [a] can satisfy him; he is content with nothing but complete

δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ ὁ ἱερώτατος χρησμός· "λαβὼν" γάρ φησι "Μωυσῆς τὸ στηθύνιον ἀφεῖλεν αὐτὸ ἐπίθεμα ἐναντίον κυρίου ἀπὸ τοῦ κριοῦ τῆς τελειώσεως, καὶ ἐγένετο Μωυσεῖ ἐν μερίδι" (Lev. viii.
130 29)· πάνυ καλῶς· τοῦ γὰρ φιλαρέτου καὶ θεοφιλοῦς ἔργον ἦν τὴν ὅλην ψυχὴν θεασάμενον λαβέσθαι τοῦ στήθους, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ, καὶ ἀφελεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀποκόψαι, ἵνα τοῦ πολεμικοῦ μέρους ἐκτμηθέντος εἰρήνην τὸ λοιπὸν ἄγῃ. ἀφαιρεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ τυχόντος ζῴου, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ κριοῦ τῆς τελειώσεως, καίτοι καὶ μόσχος ἱερουργήθη· ἀλλὰ τοῦτον παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν κριὸν ἦλθε, διότι κρουστικὸν φύσει ζῷόν ἐστι καὶ θυμικὸν καὶ ὁρμητικόν, παρὸ καὶ οἱ μηχανοποιοὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πο-
131 λεμιστηρίων ὀργάνων κριοὺς κατασκευάζουσι. τὸ κριῶδες οὖν καὶ ὁρμητικὸν καὶ ἄκριτον ἐν ἡμῖν ἐστι τὸ ἐριστικὸν εἶδος· ἔρις δὲ μήτηρ ἐστὶ θυμοῦ· παρὸ καὶ οἱ φιλονεικότεροι ἔν τε ταῖς συζητήσεσι κἀν ταῖς ἄλλαις ὁμιλίαις ῥᾷστα ὀργίζονται. τῆς οὖν ἐριστικῆς καὶ φιλονείκου ψυχῆς πλημμελὲς γέννημα θυμὸν ἐκτέμνει δεόντως, ἵνα στειρωθεῖσα παύσηται βλαβερὰ τίκτουσα καὶ γένηται μερὶς τοῦτο ἁρμόζουσα τῷ φιλαρέτῳ, οὐ τὸ στῆθος οὐδ' ὁ θυμός, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀφελεῖν αὐτά· μοῖραν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἔνειμεν ἀρίστην τῷ σοφῷ τὸ ἐκτέμνειν τὰ πάθη δύνασθαι. ὁρᾷς πῶς ὁ τέλειος τελείαν ἀπάθειαν

[a] Philo perhaps wrote κριοῖς. That battering-rams were "adorned with" a ram's head may be seen in the illustration in Seyffert's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, p. 64 a.

absence of passion. That what I say is true Holy Writ testifies: for it says, "Moses took the breast and removed it as a crowning offering before the Lord from the ram of consecration and it became Moses' portion" (Lev. viii. 29). Very good; for it was the business of the man who loved virtue and was beloved of God, when he had contemplated the entire soul, to seize the breast, which is the spirited element, and to cut it off and take it away, in order that, through the excision of the warlike part, the remainder might have peace. He removes it, not from this or that animal, as it may happen, but from the ram of consecration, although there was a heifer offered too. But he passed this by and went to the ram, because it is a creature naturally prone to butt, owing to its being full of spirit and ready for the fray. It is owing to this that engineers make most of the engines of war in the shape of rams.[a] The part of us, then, that resembles a ram in his reckless readiness for a fight is the wrangling species; and wrangling is the mother of anger; accordingly it is those who contend most eagerly in debates and other gatherings that most easily lose their tempers. So Moses cuts out, as he needs must, anger, discordant offspring of the soul that loves wrangling and contention. He does this that she may be rendered barren, and cease bearing hurtful progeny, and that *this* may become a portion befitting the lover of virtue, not the breast nor the seat of high spirit, but the removal of these: for God assigned to the wise man a share of surpassing excellence, even the power to cut out the passions. You observe how the perfect man always makes perfect freedom from passion his study. But Aaron,

132 αἰεὶ μελετᾷ. ἀλλ' ὅ γε προκόπτων δεύτερος ὢν
Ἀαρὼν μετριοπάθειαν, ὡς ἔφην, ἀσκεῖ, ἐκτεμεῖν
γὰρ ἔτι τὸ στῆθος καὶ τὸν θυμὸν ἀδυνατεῖ· φέρει δ'
ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ἡνίοχον σὺν ταῖς προσφυέσιν ἀρεταῖς
λόγον, τὸ λόγιον, ἐφ' οὗ δήλωσίς ἐστι καὶ ἀλήθεια.
133 XLVI. Παραστήσει δὲ σαφέστερον τὴν διαφορὰν
καὶ διὰ τούτου· "τὸ γὰρ στηθύνιον" φησί "τοῦ
ἐπιθέματος καὶ τὸν βραχίονα τοῦ ἀφαιρέματος
εἴληφα παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ τῶν θυσιῶν τοῦ
σωτηρίου ὑμῶν, καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτὰ Ἀαρὼν καὶ τοῖς
134 υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ" (Lev. vii. 34). ὁρᾷς ὅτι οὐκ εἰσιν
οὗτοι ἱκανοὶ τὸ στῆθος μόνον λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ σὺν τῷ
βραχίονι, Μωυσῆς δὲ χωρὶς τοῦ βραχίονος. διὰ τί;
ὅτι ὁ μὲν τέλειος ὢν βραχὺ καὶ ταπεινὸν οὐδὲν
φρονεῖ οὐδὲ μετριοπαθεῖν βούλεται, ἀλλ' ἐκ περι-
ουσίας ὅλα τὰ πάθη δι' ὅλων ἀπέκοψεν, οἱ δὲ
βραχέως καὶ οὐ μεγάλως ὁρμῶσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν παθῶν
πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ καταλλάττονται καὶ σπονδὰς πρὸς
[114] αὐτὰ τίθενται τὸν συμβατήριον λόγον | προτείνοντες,
ἵν' οὗτος ἡνιόχου τρόπον ἐπιστομίζῃ τὴν ἐπὶ πλέον
135 αὐτῶν φοράν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ σύμβολον ὁ βραχίων
πόνου καὶ κακοπαθείας· τοιοῦτος δὲ ὁ θεραπευτὴς
καὶ λειτουργὸς τῶν ἁγίων, ἀσκήσει καὶ πόνῳ
χρώμενος· ἄπονος δ' ἐστὶν ᾧ ὁ θεὸς χαρίζεται κατὰ
πολλὴν περιουσίαν τὰ ἀγαθὰ τέλεια· βραχύτερος δ'
εὑρίσκεται καὶ ἀτελέστερος ὁ πόνῳ κτώμενος τὴν
ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀπόνως καὶ εὐμαρῶς αὐτὴν παρὰ θεοῦ
λαβόντος Μωυσῆ· ὡς γὰρ αὐτὸ τὸ πονεῖν βραχύ-

the man who is making gradual progress, holding a lower position, practises moderation, as I have said; for his power does not go so far as to enable him to cut out the breast and the high-spirited element, but he brings to it, as charioteer and guide, reason with the virtues attached to it, and this is the oracle on which is Clear-showing and Truth.

XLVI. But he shall bring out the difference more clearly by means of the following words: "The breast of the offering put on, and the shoulder of the part removed, I have taken at the hands of the children of Israel from the sacrifices of your salvation, and have given to Aaron and his sons" (Lev. vii. 34). You see that these are not capable of taking the breast by itself, but must take it with the shoulder, whereas Moses takes it without the shoulder. Why is this? Because he, being perfect, has no small or petty aims, nor any desire to moderate his passions, but goes so far as to cut off all passions everywhere; while those others set out to wage war on the passions on an insignificant, not on a grand, scale, but seek to come to terms and arrange a truce with them, putting forward the word of pacification, that this like a charioteer may curb their excessive impetuosity. Furthermore the shoulder is a symbol of toil and hardship; and this is the character of him who attends to and ministers in holy things, subject to toil and discipline. But the man on whom God bestows in overflowing measure his good things in perfection is free from toil. He who acquires virtue by toil is found to come short of full achievement, as compared with Moses, who received it easily and without toil from the hands of God. For, as toiling itself falls short of the toilless achieve-

τερον καὶ ἔλαττόν ἐστι τοῦ ἀπόνου, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἀτελὲς τοῦ τελείου καὶ τὸ μανθάνον τοῦ αὐτομαθοῦς. διὰ τοῦτο σὺν μὲν βραχίονι λαμβάνει τὸ στῆθος
136 Ἀαρών, ἄνευ δὲ βραχίονος Μωυσῆς. τὸ στηθύνιον δὲ ἐπιθέματος καλεῖ διὰ τοῦτο, ὅτι ἐπικεῖσθαι δεῖ τῷ θυμῷ καὶ ἐφιδρῦσθαι τὸν λόγον ὡσανεί τινα ἡνίοχον εὐθύνοντα σκληραύχενα καὶ ἀφηνιαστὴν ἵππον· τὸν δὲ βραχίονα οὐκέτι ἐπιθέματος ἀλλ' ἀφαιρέματος διὰ τόδε, ὅτι δεῖ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς πόνον μὴ ἑαυτῇ προσάγειν τὴν ψυχήν, ἀλλ' ἀφελεῖν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς καὶ θεῷ ἀνενεγκεῖν, ὁμολογοῦσαν ὅτι οὐχ ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτῆς οὐδὲ ἡ δύναμις περιεποίησε τὸ καλόν, ἀλλὰ ὁ καὶ
137 τὸν ἔρωτα χαρισάμενος. οὔτε δὲ στηθύνιον οὔτε ὁ βραχίων λαμβάνεται πλὴν ἀπὸ τῆς θυσίας τοῦ σωτηρίου· κατὰ τὸ εἰκός· τότε γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ σῴζεται, ὅταν καὶ ὁ θυμὸς ἡνιοχηθῇ ὑπὸ λόγου καὶ ὁ πόνος μὴ οἴησιν ἐγκατασκευάσῃ ἀλλὰ παραχώρησιν τῷ εὐεργέτῃ θεῷ.

138 XLVII. Τὸ δὲ μὴ μόνον ἐπὶ τῷ στήθει ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ πορεύεσθαι τὴν ἡδονὴν εἴπομεν ἤδη, οἰκειότατον δηλοῦντες ἡδονῇ χωρίον τὴν γαστέρα, σχεδὸν γὰρ ἀγγεῖον τῶν ἡδονῶν ἁπασῶν αὕτη ἐστί· πληρωθείσης γὰρ τῆς γαστρὸς ὀρέξεις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡδονῶν γίνονται σύντονοι, κενωθείσης δὲ
139 ἠρεμαῖαι καὶ σταθηρότεραι. διὸ καί φησιν ἑτέρωθι·

[a] *i.e.*, taught directly by God or by Virtue's self.

ment and is inferior to it, so does the imperfect fall short of the perfect, and that which learns of that which is self-taught.[a] This is why Aaron takes the breast with the shoulder, but Moses without the shoulder. The reason why he calls it the breast of "the special offering put on" is that it is necessary that the reason should be put and set firmly on the seat of anger, as though it were a kind of charioteer keeping straight a stiff-necked and restive horse. But when he comes to the shoulder he speaks of it not as in the case of the breast, as belonging to "the offering put on," but as belonging to "that which was removed." The reason he does so is this. It is necessary that the soul should not ascribe to itself its toil for virtue, but that it should take it away from itself and refer it to God, confessing that not its own strength or power acquired nobility, but He who freely bestowed also the love of it. Neither breast nor shoulder is taken except from the sacrifice of salvation. That is fitting. For only then does the soul begin to be saved, when the seat of anger has received reason as its charioteer, and toil has come to create in it, not self-satisfaction, but a readiness to yield the honour to God, the Bestower of the boon.

XLVII. We have already mentioned that pleasure goes not only on its breast but also on its belly, and pointed out that the stomach is a place most appropriate to pleasure, for we may almost describe it as a reservoir of all the pleasures. For when the belly has been filled, cravings after the other pleasures also become vehement, but when it has been emptied, these are quieted and become more still. And so the prophet says in another passage, "Whatsoever

"πᾶς ὁ πορευόμενος ἐπὶ κοιλίᾳ καὶ πᾶς ὁ πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τεσσάρων διὰ παντός, ὃς πολυπληθεῖ ποσίν, ἀκάθαρτός ἐστι" (Lev. xi. 42)· τοιοῦτος δ' ὁ φιλήδονος ἀεὶ χωρῶν ἐπὶ γαστέρα καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταύτην ἡδονάς. τῷ δὲ ἕρποντι ἐπὶ κοιλίαν τὸν ἐπὶ τεσσάρων βαδίζοντα ἥνωκεν· εἰκότως· τέτταρα γάρ ἐστι τὰ πάθη τῶν ἐν ἡδονῇ, ὥς τις κατ' ἐξαίρετον λόγος μέμνηται. ἀκάθαρτος οὖν καὶ ὁ τῷ ἑνὶ χρώμενος τῇ ἡδονῇ καὶ ὁ πᾶσιν ἐφορμῶν τοῖς τέσσαρσι.

140 Τούτων εἰρημένων ἴδε διαφορὰν πάλιν τελείου καὶ προκόπτοντος. ὥσπερ οὖν πρότερον εὑρίσκετο ὁ μὲν τέλειος ὅλον ἐκτέμνων τὸν θυμὸν τῆς ἐριστικῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ποιῶν αὐτὴν τιθασὸν καὶ χειροήθη καὶ εἰρηναίαν καὶ ἵλεων πρὸς πάντα ἔργῳ
[115] τε καὶ λόγῳ, ὁ δὲ προκόπτων | οὐ δυνάμενος μὲν ἀποκόψαι τὸ πάθος—φέρει γὰρ τὸ στῆθος—παιδεύων δὲ αὐτὸ λόγῳ κεκριμένῳ, ἔχοντι δύο ἀρετάς, σαφήνειαν καὶ ἀλήθειαν, XLVIII. οὕτως καὶ νῦν εὑρεθήσεται ὁ μὲν σοφὸς τέλειος ἡδονὰς ἀπορρυπτόμενος καὶ ἀποσειόμενος Μωυσῆς, ὁ δὲ προκόπτων οὐχ ἅπασαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ἀναγκαίαν καὶ ἁπλῆν προσιέμενος, τὴν δὲ περίεργον καὶ περιττὴν κατὰ τὰς ἐπεντρώσεις παραιτούμενος·
141 ἐπὶ γὰρ Μωυσέως φησὶν οὕτως· "καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἔπλυνεν ὕδατι τοῦ ὁλοκαυτώματος" (Lev. ix. 14). πάνυ καλῶς· ὅλην γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν

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a ἐπί with dative. b ἐπί with accusative.
c ἐπί with genitive.
d This treatise was never written or is lost.
e Lev. vii. 3. Literally "for he bears away the breast."

goeth upon [a] the belly, and whatsoever goeth all the time upon four feet, which hath many feet, is unclean" (Lev. xi. 42). The lover of pleasure answers to this description, always going after [b] the belly and the pleasures of the adjoining parts. With that which creepeth after [b] the belly he has associated that which walketh upon [c] four feet; and quite naturally; for the passions that come under the head of those in the realm of pleasure are four in number, as has been mentioned in a treatise specially devoted to that subject.[d] Accordingly a man is unclean who is given up to the one thing, pleasure, as well as the man who has all four passions for his stay.

Now that we have said this, note once more how a perfect man differs from one making gradual progress. We have already discovered the perfect man cutting out the seat of anger entirely from the wrangling soul, and so rendering it gentle and submissive and peaceable, and cheerfully ready to face every demand both in act and word; while the man of gradual improvement was found powerless to cut away the passion, for the breast is Aaron's portion,[e] but schooling it by well-tested speech, attended by two virtues, clearness and truth. XLVIII. In a corresponding manner we shall now find Moses, the wise man, in his perfection, scouring away and shaking off pleasures, but the man of gradual improvement not so treating pleasure in its entirety, but welcoming simple and unavoidable pleasure, while declining that which is excessive and over-elaborate in the way of delicacies. For in the case of Moses he uses this language: "And he washed with water the belly and the feet of the whole burnt-offering" (Lev. ix. 14). It is excellently said; for

ἀξίαν οὖσαν θεῷ προσάγεσθαι διὰ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν μήθ' ἑκούσιον μήτ' ἀκούσιον μῶμον ὁ σοφὸς καθαγιάζει· οὕτως δὲ διακείμενος ὅλην τὴν γαστέρα καὶ τὰς αὐτῆς καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν ἡδονὰς ἐκπλύνει καὶ ἀπολούεται καὶ ἀπορρύπτεται, οὐχὶ μέρος τι, ἀλλ' οὕτω καταφρονητικῶς ἔσχηκεν αὐτῆς, ὥστε οὐδὲ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα σιτία ἢ ποτὰ προσίεται θεωρίᾳ τῶν
142 θείων τρεφόμενος. διὸ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις μαρτυρεῖται αὐτῷ· "τετταράκοντα ἡμέρας ἄρτου οὐκ ἔφαγε καὶ ὕδωρ οὐκ ἔπιεν" (Exod. xxxiv. 28), ὅτε ἐν τῷ θείῳ ὄρει γενόμενος χρησμῶν θεοῦ νομοθετοῦντος ἤκουεν. ἀλλ' οὐ μόνον ὅλῃ τῇ γαστρὶ ἀποτάττεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῇ συναπορρύπτεται, τουτέστι τὰς ἐπιβάσεις τῆς ἡδονῆς· ἐπιβάσεις δὲ
143 ἡδονῆς εἰσι τὰ ποιητικὰ αὐτῆς· ὁ [τε] γὰρ προκόπτων λέγεται τὰ ἐγκοίλια καὶ τοὺς πόδας λούειν (Lev. i. 9), οὐ τὴν ὅλην κοιλίαν· ἱκανὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι πᾶσαν ἡδονὴν διώσασθαι, ἀγαπητὸν δέ, ἐὰν τὰ ἐγκοίλια αὐτῆς τουτέστι τὰ ἐπεντρώματα, ἅ φασιν οἱ φιλήδονοι ἐπιλεάνσεις εἶναί τινας τῶν προηγουμένων ἡδονῶν, ἃ γίνεται ὀψαρτυτῶν καὶ
144 σιτοπόνων λίχνων περιεργίᾳ. XLIX. καὶ προσεπιτείνει τὴν τοῦ προκόπτοντος μετριοπάθειαν τῷ τὸν μὲν ἄνευ προστάξεως παραιτεῖσθαι ὅλην τὴν γαστρὸς ἡδονήν, τὸν δὲ προκόπτοντα μετὰ προστάξεως· ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σοφοῦ λέγεται οὕτως· "τὴν κοιλίαν καὶ τοὺς πόδας ὕδατι ἔπλυνεν" (Lev. ix. 14), ἀνεπικελεύστως κατὰ τὴν ἑκούσιον

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[a] Or "means of approach."

the wise man consecrates his whole soul as being worthy to be offered to God, owing to its freedom from voluntary or involuntary blemish; and, being in this condition, he washes out and bathes away and scours off the whole belly and the pleasures that it and the parts adjoining it yield, not so dealing with some part of it, but filled with such contempt for the whole, that he rejects even necessary food and drink, being fed by the contemplation of things divine. And therefore witness is borne to him in another place also: "for forty days he ate no bread and drank no water" (Exod. xxxiv. 28), when he was in the holy mount and listened to the divine communications made by God as He declared His laws. But not only does he renounce the whole belly, but with it he scours away the feet, that is, the supports[a] of pleasure; but the things that create pleasure are its supports,[a] for the man of gradual improvement is said to wash the inwards and the feet (Lev. i. 9), not the whole belly: for he is not sufficient to thrust from him pleasure in its completeness, but is content if he can get rid of its inwards, that is, of the delicacies, produced by the elaborate skill of dainty cooks and confectioners, of which we are told by the epicures that they serve, if we may so speak, as a means of giving succulence to the principal pleasures. XLIX. He lays further stress upon the mere moderating of passion in the man of gradual advance, by representing the wise man as declining without any bidding all the pleasures of the belly, while the man of gradual advance acts under orders; for in the wise man's case what is said is "he washed with water the belly and the feet" (Lev. ix. 14), spontaneously and unbidden,

γνώμην, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἱερέων οὕτως· "τὰ δὲ ἐγκοίλια καὶ τοὺς πόδας" οὐχὶ ἔπλυναν, ἀλλὰ "πλυνοῦσι" (Lev. i. 9)· σφόδρα παρατετηρημένως· δεῖ γὰρ τὸν μὲν τέλειον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ κινεῖσθαι πρὸς τὰς κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐνεργείας, τὸν δὲ ἀσκητὴν μετὰ τοῦ ὑφηγουμένου τὰ πρακτέα λόγου, ᾧ προστάττοντι πείθεσθαι καλόν.

145 [116] Οὐ δεῖ δὲ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι Μωυσῆς | ὅλην τὴν κοιλίαν τουτέστι τὴν γαστρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν παραιτούμενος σχεδὸν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πάθεσιν ἀποτάττεται, τοῦ νομοθέτου ἀπὸ μέρους ἑνὸς τὸ σύμπαν ἐναργῶς παριστάντος καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ συνεκτικωτάτου περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν οἷς ἡσύχασε, δυνάμει διεξιόντος· I. συνεκτικώτατον <γὰρ> ἡ γαστρὸς ἐκπλήρωσις καὶ ὡσανεὶ θεμέλιός τις τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν· οὐδὲν γοῦν ἐκείνων δύναται συστῆναι μὴ ἐπερειδόμενον γαστρί, ᾗ πάντα ἐφίδρυκεν ἡ φύσις. 146 διὰ τοῦτο, γεννηθέντων τῶν ἐκ τῆς Λείας προτέρων τῶν ψυχικῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ στάντων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως Ἰούδα (Gen. xxix. 35), μέλλων ὁ θεὸς δημιουργεῖν καὶ τὰς σώματος προκοπὰς Βάλλαν τὴν Ῥαχὴλ παιδίσκην καὶ πρὸ τῆς δεσποίνης τίκτειν παρασκευάζει· Βάλλα δ' ἐστὶν ἐγκατάποσις· ᾔδει γὰρ ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν σωματικῶν ἄνευ καταπόσεως καὶ γαστρὸς ὑποστῆναι δύναται, ἀλλὰ αὕτη κρατεῖ καὶ ἡγεμονεύει παντὸς τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ ζῆν ψιλὸν ὄγκου.

147 παρατήρει δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν λεπτολογίαν, οὐδὲν γὰρ

but in the case of the priests it is on this wise : " the inwards and the feet," not " they washed " but " they shall wash " (Lev. i. 9). This shows great exactness. For it must needs be that while the perfect man moves of himself towards virtuous actions, the man who is practising should do so with the aid of reason which gives him guidance what he should do, obedience to whose directions is a noble thing.

We must not fail to notice that Moses, when he refuses the entire belly, that is the filling of his stomach, practically renounces the other passions too. The lawgiver uses one portion to give from it a clear presentation of the whole ; and having mentioned the most essential matter, virtually treats of the rest about which he has been silent. L. For the filling of the belly is the most essential matter, and the foundation, so to speak, of the other passions. None of them, as we see, can take shape unless it have the belly to support it, for nature has made the belly the basis of all things. Hence it comes that when Leah's sons, the good things of the soul, had been born before Jacob's other sons, and had ceased with Judah, who is " praise " (Gen. xxix. 35), God, being about to create representatives of the forward striving of the body as well, causes Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid, to bear children even before her mistress. Now Bilhah is " swallowing." For the prophet knew that no part or organ of the body can subsist without " swallowing " and the belly, but this holds sway and sovereignty over all the body and over all the material frame whose concern is with mere living. Do not let any subtle point escape your notice, for you will not find a

λεχθὲν παρέργως εὑρήσεις. Μωυσῆς τὸ μὲν στηθύνιον ἀφαιρεῖται, τὴν δὲ κοιλίαν οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖ μέν, πλύνει δέ (Lev. viii. 29, ix. 14)· διὰ τί; ὅτι ὁ τέλειος σοφὸς ὅλον μὲν τὸν θυμὸν ἰσχύει παραιτήσασθαι καὶ ἀποκόψαι ὀργῆς κατεξαναστάς, τὴν δὲ κοιλίαν ἐκτεμεῖν ἀδυνατεῖ· τοῖς γὰρ ἀναγκαίοις σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς ἡ φύσις βιάζεται χρῆσθαι καὶ τὸν ὀλιγοδεέστατον καὶ καταφρονητικὸν αὐτῶν τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ ἀσιτίαν αὐτῶν μελετῶντα. πλυνέτω οὖν αὐτὴν καὶ καθαιρέτω ἀπὸ τῶν περιττῶν καὶ ἀκαθάρτων παρασκευῶν· ἱκανὴ γὰρ καὶ αὕτη παρὰ θεοῦ τῷ φιλαρέτῳ δωρεά.

148 LI. διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπονοηθείσης διεφθάρθαι ψυχῆς φησιν (Num. v. 27), ὅτι ἂν μὲν ἀπολελοιπυῖα τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον, ὅς ἐστιν ἀνὴρ νόμιμος, εὑρεθῇ προσκεχωρηκυῖα τῷ μιαίνοντι τὴν ψυχὴν πάθει, "πρησθήσεται τὴν γαστέρα," ὅπερ ἦν, ἀπληρώτους καὶ ἀκορέστους ἕξει τὰς γαστρὸς ἡδονὰς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ οὐδέποτε παύσεται ἄπληστος οὖσα δι' ἀπαιδευσίαν, ἀλλ' ἀμυθήτων ἐπιρρεόντων ἀΐδιον
149 ἕξει τὸ πάθος. οἶδα γοῦν πολλοὺς οὕτω πταίοντας περὶ τὴν τῆς γαστρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν, ὥστ' ἐμέτοις χρησάμενοι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄκρατον καὶ τἆλλα ὥρμησαν· οὐ γὰρ ἀναλογεῖ τοῖς σωματικοῖς ὄγκοις ἡ τῆς ἀκράτορος ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμία, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἅτε ἀγγεῖα ὄντες μεμετρημένα ἄμετρον οὐδὲν προσίενται, ἀλλὰ τὸ περιττὸν ἐκβάλλουσιν, ἡ δὲ ἐπιθυμία πληροῦται μὲν οὐδέποτε, μένει δὲ
150 ἐνδεὴς καὶ διψαλέα ἀεί. | παρὸ καὶ τὸ
[117]

single pointless expression. Moses removes the breast; the belly he does not remove, but washes (Lev. viii. 29, ix. 14). Why is this? Because the perfect wise man can, by wholly renouncing anger, utterly avert and drive off the uprising of the spirited element in him, but to exscind the belly he is powerless. Even the man of fewest needs who scorns the very necessaries of life and trains himself in abstinence from them, is forced by nature to take necessary food and drink. Let him therefore wash the belly and cleanse it from superfluous and unclean provisions; for this too is a sufficiently great gift from God to the lover of virtue. LI. It is owing to this [a] that when treating of the soul suspected of adultery he says (Num. v. 27), that if it have forsaken the right principle, which is the lawful husband, and be discovered to have had intercourse with soul-defiling passion, "it will swell up in the belly," which signified that it will have ever unfilled and insatiable the pleasures and desires of the belly, and will never cease to be insatiate owing to gross stupidity, but, with a countless throng of them pouring in, will keep its passion for ever. To cite an instance, I know many brought to such disaster over the craving of the belly, that after resorting to emetics they fly back again to strong drink and all the rest. For the craving of the soul that is out of control is not restricted as the bodily organs are by their size. These are vessels of a fixed capacity admitting nothing that exceeds it, but ejecting all that is superfluous. Desire is never filled up, but continues always thirsty and in want of more.

[a] διὰ τοῦτο seems to refer to § 146. The intervening § 147 is of the nature of a note.

ἀκόλουθον προστίθεται τῷ πρησθῆναι τὴν γαστέρα τὸ "διαπεσεῖν τὸν μηρόν"· διαπίπτει γὰρ τότε τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ ὁ σπερματικὸς καὶ γεννητικὸς τῶν καλῶν λόγος ὀρθός· "ἐὰν" γοῦν φησι "μὴ μιανθῇ καὶ καθαρὰ <ῇ>, καὶ ἀθῷος ἔσται <καὶ> ἐκσπερματιεῖ σπέρμα" (Num. v. 28), ἐὰν ὑπὸ πάθους μὴ μιανθῇ, καθαρεύσῃ δὲ πρὸς τὸν νόμιμον ἄνδρα, τὸν ὑγιῆ καὶ ἡγεμόνα λόγον, γόνιμον ἕξει ψυχὴν καὶ καρποφόρον, φέρουσαν γέννημα φρονήσεως καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς συμπάσης ἀρετῆς.

151 LII. Ἆρ' οὖν ἡμᾶς ἐνδεδεμένους σώματι οἷόν τε σωματικαῖς ἀνάγκαις μὴ χρῆσθαι; καὶ πῶς ἔνεστιν; ἀλλ' ὅρα. ὁ ἱεροφάντης τὸν τρόπον παραγγέλλει τῷ ἀγομένῳ ὑπὸ σωματικῆς χρείας αὐτῷ μόνῳ χρῆσθαι τῷ ἀναγκαίῳ. πρῶτον μέν φησι "τόπος ἔστω σοι ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς" (Deut. xxiii. 12), παρεμβολὴν καλῶν τὴν ἀρετήν, ἐν ᾗ ἐστρατοπέδευκεν ἡ ψυχή· οὐ γὰρ δύναται τὸν αὐτὸν κρατεῖν χῶρον φρόνησις καὶ σωματικῆς
152 ἀνάγκης ἀπόλαυσις. εἶτα "ἐξελεύσῃ" φησίν "ἐκεῖ ἔξω"· διὰ τί; ὅτι οὐ δύναται ἡ ψυχὴ καταμένουσα μετὰ φρονήσεως καὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ διατρίβουσα τῆς σοφίας χρῆσθαί τινι τῶν φίλων σώματος· τρέφεται γὰρ τότε θειοτέραις τροφαῖς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις, δι' ἃς καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς ἀμελεῖ· ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ἐξέλθῃ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀρετῆς οἴκων, τηνικαῦτα ἐπὶ τὰς τὸ σῶμα πλημμελούσας καὶ πιεζούσας ὕλας τρέπεται. πῶς οὖν αὐταῖς χρή-

[a] See on *De Op.* 43.

This explains "the breaking up of the thigh," being added as the sequel to the swelling of the belly. For then it is that the soul experiences the breaking up of the right principle, the principle that is the seed [a] whence all noble things are begotten. We see this from the words that follow, "If she have not been defiled and be pure, she shall be free and shall conceive seed" (Numb. v. 28), if she have not been defiled by passion, but have been chaste and faithful to her lawful husband, the princely and wholesome principle, she will have a soul fruitful and productive, yielding the offspring of sound sense and righteousness and all excellence.

LII. Is it possible, then, that we, tied as we are to a body, should not comply with bodily requirements? How *can* it be possible? But look. The sacred guide tells the man who feels the pressure of bodily necessity the way to deal with it, namely, to comply with it only so far as he is actually obliged to do so. First he says, "Let there be to thee a place outside the camp" (Deut. xxiii. 12), meaning by "the camp" virtue, in which the soul has pitched its camp. For good sense and indulgence of a bodily necessity cannot occupy the same quarters. Next he says, "Thou shalt go forth there without." Why go forth? Because the soul cannot have dealings with any of the body's friends while it abides with good sense and spends its days in the house of wisdom. For then it is nourished by food more divine, which it finds in all knowledge, and for the sake of this it actually disregards the flesh. For when it has gone forth from the sacred dwellings of virtue, it is then that it turns to material things which treat the body ill and weigh it down. How

153 σομαι; "πάσσαλος ἔστω σοι" φησίν "ἐπὶ τῆς ζώνης σου, καὶ ὀρύξεις ἐν αὐτῷ" (Deut. xxiii. 13), τουτέστι λόγος ἐπὶ τοῦ πάθους ἐξορύττων καὶ ἀναστέλλων καὶ ἀπαμφιεννὺς αὐτό· ἀνεζῶσθαι γὰρ βούλεται ἡμᾶς τὰ πάθη, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀνειμένα
154 καὶ κεχαλασμένα φορεῖν. διὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς διαβάσεως αὐτῶν, ὃ καλεῖται Πάσχα, προστάττει τὰς "ὀσφῦς περιεζῶσθαι" (Exod. xii. 11), ἤτοι συνεστάλθαι τὰς ἐπιθυμίας. πάσσαλος οὖν, τουτέστι λόγος, ἑπέσθω τῷ πάθει, κωλύων αὐτὸ χεῖσθαι· οὕτως γὰρ αὐτοῖς μόνοις χρησόμεθα τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις, τῶν δὲ περιττῶν ἀφεξόμεθα. LIII.
155 κἂν ἐν συνουσίαις ὄντες καὶ μέλλοντες εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ χρῆσιν τῶν παρεσκευασμένων ἐλθεῖν σὺν λόγῳ παραγενώμεθα ὥσπερ ὅπλῳ τινὶ ἀμυντηρίῳ, οὔτε πέραν τοῦ μετρίου σιτίων ἐμφορηθησόμεθα αἰθυιῶν τρόπον οὔτ' ἀκράτου ἀμέτρου κορεσθέντες μέθῃ ληραίνειν ἀναγκαζούσῃ χρησόμεθα· ἐπιστομιεῖ
[118] γὰρ ὁ λόγος καὶ ἐγχαλινώσει τὴν ῥύμην | καὶ
156 φορὰν τοῦ πάθους. ἐγὼ γοῦν αὐτὸ πολλάκις παθὼν οἶδα· εἰς γὰρ ἀδιάγωγον συνουσίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ πολυτελῆ δεῖπνα, ὁπότε μὴ ἀφικοίμην σὺν λόγῳ, δοῦλος ἐγενόμην τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, ἀγόμενος ὑπὸ δεσποτῶν ἀτιθάσων, θεαμάτων καὶ ἀκουσμάτων καὶ τῶν ὅσα διὰ μυκτῆρος καὶ γεύσεως ἡδονὰς ἀπεργάζεται· ὁπότε δὲ μετὰ τοῦ αἱροῦντος λόγου, δεσπότης ἀντὶ δούλου γίνομαι καὶ ἀνὰ κράτος νικῶ καλὴν νίκην καρτερίας

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[a] Or "ill-regulated."

then shall I deal with them? "Let there be to thee, he says, a shovel upon thy girdle, and thou shalt dig with it" (Deut. xxiii. 13), that is to say, reason shall be upon the passion digging it out, tucking it up, not suffering it to clothe thee about. For God would have us gird up our passions, not wear them flowing and loose. So at the crossing over from them, which is called Passover, He bids that their "loins should be girded up" (Exod. xii. 11), in other words that their desires should be restrained. Let a shovel then, that is, reason, follow the passion, preventing it from spreading abroad, for by this means we shall comply only with demands which are urgent, but from all that goes beyond this we shall abstain. LIII. When we are present at entertainments and are about to take and enjoy the viands provided, if we take our places at table with reason like some weapon to parry blows, we shall neither gorge ourselves with food beyond measure like cormorants, nor overdosed with unlimited strong drink shall we succumb to intoxication with its resultant foolish talk; for reason will curb and bridle the impetuous rush of the passion. I, to mention myself in proof of what I say, know by frequent experience how true it is. Many a time have I been present at a gathering with little that was sociable about it [a] or at costly suppers. When I did not arrive with reason for my companion, I found myself the slave of the enjoyments provided, at the mercy of harsh masters, entertainments for eye and ear and all that brings pleasure by way of taste or smell. But whenever I arrive with convincing reason at my side, I find myself a master not a slave, and, putting forth all my strength, win

καὶ σωφροσύνης, ἀντιβαίνων καὶ ἀντιφιλονεικῶν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀναρρηγνῦσι τὰς ἀκράτορας ἐπιθυμίας.
157 "διορύξεις" φησὶ γοῦν "τῷ πασσάλῳ" (Deut. xxiii. 13), τουτέστιν, ἣν ἕκαστον ἔχει φύσιν, τὸ φαγεῖν, τὸ πιεῖν, τὸ τοῖς μετὰ γαστέρα χρῆσθαι, τῷ λόγῳ γυμνώσεις καὶ διαστελεῖς, ἵνα διακρίνας γνῷς τἀληθές· τότε γὰρ εἴσῃ, ὅτι ἐν οὐδενὶ τούτων ἐστὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον μόνον καὶ
158 χρήσιμον. "καὶ ἐπαγαγὼν καλύψεις τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην σου" (ib.)· πάνυ καλῶς· ἔπαγε γάρ, ὦ ψυχή, τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ πάντα, ᾧ καλύπτεται καὶ συσκιάζεται καὶ συγκρύπτεται πᾶσα ἀσχημοσύνη σαρκὸς καὶ πάθους· τὰ γὰρ μὴ σὺν λόγῳ πάντα
159 αἰσχρά, ὥσπερ τὰ σὺν λόγῳ κόσμια. οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν φιλήδονος ἐπὶ κοιλίαν βαδίζει, ὁ δὲ τέλειος τὴν κοιλίαν ὅλην ἐκπλύνει, ὁ δὲ προκόπτων τὰ ἐν κοιλίᾳ, ὁ δὲ ἄρτι ἀρχόμενος παιδεύεσθαι ἔξω πρόεισιν, ὅταν μέλλῃ τῆς γαστρὸς τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἐπιφερόμενος λόγον ἐπιστομιεῖν τὸ πάθος, ὃς εἴρηται συμβολικῶς πάσσαλος.

160 LIV. Εὖ μέντοι καὶ τὸ προσθεῖναι· "πορεύσῃ ἐπὶ τῷ στήθει καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ" (Gen. iii. 14)· ἡ γὰρ ἡδονὴ οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἠρεμούντων καὶ ἱσταμένων, ἀλλὰ τῶν κινουμένων καὶ ταραχῆς γεμόντων· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ φλὸξ ἐν κινήσει, οὕτως φλογμοῦ τινα τρόπον τὸ πάθος ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κινούμενον ἠρεμεῖν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἐᾷ. διὸ καὶ τοῖς λέγουσι

[a] Strictly "after." See 139.

the noble victory of endurance and self-mastery, in a vigorous and pertinacious encounter with everything that excites the unruly desires. "Thou shalt dig," you see he says, "with the shovel" (Deut. xxiii. 13), that is, thou shalt lay bare and distinguish by means of reason, the nature which each passion possesses, eating, drinking, sexual indulgence, that thou mayest discern them and learn the truth about them. For then shalt thou know that in none of these is there the thing which is good, but that which is useful only and necessary. "And bringing the shovel to bear on it then shalt thou cover thine unseemliness" (*ibid.*). 'Tis well said. Bring then, O soul, reason to bear on all things, wherewith all unseemliness of flesh and passion is covered, and hidden, and put out of sight. For all that is unaccompanied by reason is unsightly, just as that with which reason is present is comely. We get this result. The lover of pleasure moves on[a] the belly; the perfect man washes out the entire belly; the man who is making gradual progress washes out the contents of the belly, the man who is just beginning his training will go forth without, when he intends to curb passion by bringing reason (figuratively called a shovel) to bear upon the demands of the belly.

LIV. There is an excellent point in the next words too: "*Thou shalt go* upon thy breast and thy belly" (Gen. iii. 14). For pleasure does not belong to the category of things becalmed and stationary, but to that of things moving and full of turmoil. For as the flame is in movement, so, not unlike a blazing thing, passion moving in the soul does not suffer it to be calm. Thus the prophet does not agree

καταστηματικὴν εἶναι τὴν ἡδονὴν οὐ συμφέρεται· ἠρεμία γὰρ λίθῳ μὲν καὶ ξύλῳ καὶ παντὶ ἀψύχῳ οἰκεῖον, ἀλλότριον δὲ ἡδονῇ· γαργαλισμοῦ γὰρ καὶ σπασμώδους ἐφίεται καὶ ἐπ' ἐνίων οὐκ ἠρεμίας ἀλλὰ συντόνου καὶ σφοδρᾶς κινήσεώς ἐστι χρεία.

161 LV. Τὸ δὲ "γῆν φάγεσαι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου" (Gen. iii. 14), τοῦτο προσφυῶς [119] εἴρηται· τῆς γὰρ | σώματος τροφῆς ἡδοναὶ γήιναι· καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· δύο <γάρ> ἐστιν ἐξ ὧν συνέσταμεν, ψυχή τε καὶ σῶμα· τὸ μὲν οὖν σῶμα ἐκ γῆς δεδημιούργηται, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ αἰθέρος ἐστίν, ἀπόσπασμα θεῖον· "ἐνεφύσησε γὰρ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ζωῆς ὁ θεός, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν" (Gen. ii. 7). εὐλόγως οὖν τὸ μὲν ἐκ γῆς διαπλασθὲν σῶμα συγγενεῖς ἔχει τροφὰς ἃς ἀναδίδωσιν ἡ γῆ, ἡ δὲ αἰθερίου φύσεως μοῖρα οὖσα ψυχὴ πάλιν αἰθερίους καὶ θείας· ἐπιστήμαις γὰρ τρέφεται καὶ οὐ σιτίοις ἢ ποτοῖς, ὧν ἐπιδεές ἐστι τὸ σῶμα.

162 LVI. Ὅτι δὲ οὐ γήινοι ἀλλ' οὐράνιοι αἱ ψυχῆς τροφαί, μαρτυρήσει διὰ πλειόνων ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος· "ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ὕω ὑμῖν ἄρτους <ἐκ> τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἐξελεύσεται ὁ λαὸς καὶ συνάξουσι τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς ἡμέραν, ὅπως πειράσω αὐτούς, εἰ πορεύσονται τῷ νόμῳ μου ἢ οὔ" (Exod. xvi. 4). ὁρᾷς ὅτι οὐ γηίνοις καὶ φθαρτοῖς τρέφεται ἡ ψυχή, ἀλλ' οἷς ἂν ὁ θεὸς ὀμβρήσῃ λόγοις ἐκ τῆς μεταρσίου
163 καὶ καθαρᾶς φύσεως, ἣν οὐρανὸν κέκληκεν· ἐξίτω

[a] καταστηματικήν. *Cf.* Diogenes Laertius, x. 136 ὁ δ' Ἐπίκουρος ἐν τῷ περὶ αἱρέσεων οὕτω λέγει· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀταραξία καὶ ἀπονία καταστηματικαί εἰσιν ἡδοναί· ἡ δὲ χαρὰ καὶ εὐφροσύνη κατὰ κίνησιν ἐνεργείᾳ βλέπονται. See App. p. 483.

with those who say that pleasure is tranquil.[a] For stillness pertains to a stone and a log and to everything without life, but it is alien to pleasure. For pleasure hankers after an excitement that is actually convulsive, and in some people so far from its being an experience of tranquillity, it is an indulgence in intense and violent movement.

LV. The sentence " Earth shalt thou eat all the days of thy life " (Gen. iii. 14) is an apt one. For the food of the body brings pleasures of earth ; and fitly so, it would seem. For there are two things of which we consist, soul and body. The body, then, has been formed out of earth, but the soul is of the upper air, a particle detached from the Deity : " for God breathed into his face a breath of life, and man became a living soul " (Gen. ii. 7). It is in accordance with reason, therefore, that the body fashioned out of earth has food akin to it which earth yields, while the soul being a portion of an ethereal nature has on the contrary ethereal and divine food ; for it is fed by knowledge in its various forms and not by meat and drink, of which the body stands in need.

LVI. That the food of the soul is not earthly but heavenly, we shall find abundant evidence in the Sacred Word. " Behold I rain upon you bread out of heaven, and the people shall go out and they shall gather the day's portion for a day, that I may prove them whether they will walk by My law or not " (Exod. xvi. 4). You see that the soul is fed not with things of earth that decay, but with such words as God shall have poured like rain out of that lofty and pure region of life to which the prophet has given the title of " heaven." To

μέντοι ὁ λεὼς καὶ πᾶν τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς σύστημα καὶ συναγαγέτω καὶ ἀρχέσθω τῆς ἐπιστήμης, μὴ ἀθρόως ἀλλὰ "τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς ἡμέραν". πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀθρόον οὐ χωρήσει τὸν πολὺν πλοῦτον τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χαρίτων, ἀλλὰ τῇ φορᾷ χειμάρρου τρόπον ἐπικλυσθήσεται· ἔπειτ' ἐστὶν ἄμεινον τὰ αὐτάρκη λαβόντας ἀγαθὰ καὶ μεμε-
164 τρημένα τῶν λοιπῶν ταμίαν οἰηθῆναι τὸν θεόν. ὁ δὲ πάντα μετιὼν ἀθρόα δυσελπιστίαν καὶ ἀπιστίαν μετὰ πολλῆς ἀνοίας κτᾶται· δύσελπις μὲν <γίνεται>, εἰ νῦν μόνον ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ αὖθις ἐλπίζει τὸν θεὸν ὀμβρήσειν αὐτῷ ἀγαθά, ἄπιστος δέ, εἰ μὴ πεπίστευκε καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτας ἀφθόνως τοῖς ἀξίοις προσνέμεσθαι, ἄνους δέ, εἰ οἴεται τῶν συναχθέντων ἱκανὸς ἔσεσθαι φύλαξ ἄκοντος θεοῦ· μικρὰ γὰρ ῥοπὴ τὸν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ βεβαιότητα περιάπτοντα νοῦν ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας ἑαυτῷ ἄκυρον καὶ ἀβέβαιον ὧν ἐδόκει
165 φύλαξ εἶναι πάντων ἐποίησε. LVII. σύναγε οὖν, ὦ ψυχή, τὰ αὐτάρκη καὶ καθήκοντα καὶ μήτε πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν ὡς ὑπερβάλλειν μήτε ἐλάττω πάλιν ὡς ἐνδεῖν, ἵνα μέτροις δικαίοις χρωμένη μὴ ἀδικῇς. καὶ γὰρ διάβασίν γε μελετῶσαν ἀπὸ τῶν παθῶν καὶ τὸ Πάσχα θύουσαν δεῖ τὴν προκοπήν, τὸ πρόβατον, λαμβάνειν μὴ

[a] The Greek for "sheep" is πρόβατον, which properly means *anything that walks forward.*

proceed. The people, and all that goes to make the soul, is to go out and gather and make a beginning of knowledge, not all at once but "the day's portion for a day." For to begin with it will be unable to contain all at once the abundant wealth of the gracious gifts of God, but will be overwhelmed by them as by the rush of a torrent. In the second place it is better, when we have received the good things sufficient of themselves as duly measured out to us, to think of God as Dispenser of those that still remain. He that would fain have all at once earns for himself lack of hope and trust, as well as great lack of sense. He lacks hope if he expects that now only but not in the future also will God shower on him good things; he lacks faith, if he has no belief that both in the present and always the good gifts of God are lavishly bestowed on those worthy of them; he lacks sense, if he imagines that he will be, though God will it not, a sufficient guardian of what he has gathered together; for the mind that vaingloriously ascribes to itself sureness and security has many a time been rendered by a slight turn of the scale a feeble and insecure guardian of all that it looked on as in its safe-keeping.

LVII. Gather together, therefore, O soul, what is adequate of itself and suitable, and neither more than sufficient so as to be excessive, nor on the other hand less so as to fall short, that dealing in right measures thou mayest do no wrong. For thou art required also, when making it thy study to cross over from the passions and when sacrificing the Passover, to take the forward step, whose symbol is the lamb,[a] not without measure, for he

ἀμέτρως· "ἕκαστος" γάρ φησι "τὸ ἀρκοῦν αὐτῷ συναριθμήσεται[1] εἰς πρόβατον" (Exod. xii. 4).

166 Καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μάννα οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ πάσης δωρεᾶς, [120] ἣν ὁ θεὸς δωρεῖται | τῷ γένει ἡμῶν, καλὸν τὸ ἐνάριθμον καὶ μεμετρημένον καὶ μὴ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς λαμβάνειν· πλεονεξίας γὰρ τοῦτό γε. τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας οὖν εἰς ἡμέραν συναγαγέτω ἡ ψυχή (Exod. xvi. 4), ἵνα μὴ ἑαυτὴν φύλακα τῶν ἀγαθῶν
167 ἀλλὰ τὸν φιλόδωρον θεὸν ἀποφήνῃ. LVIII. καὶ διὰ τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ τὸ προκείμενον λέγεσθαι· σύμβολον φωτός ἐστιν ἡ ἡμέρα, φῶς δὲ ψυχῆς ἐστι παιδεία. πολλοὶ οὖν τὰ ἐν ψυχῇ φῶτα ἐκτήσαντο εἰς νύκτα καὶ σκότος, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς ἡμέραν καὶ φῶς, οἷον τὰ προπαιδεύματα πάντα καὶ τὰ ἐγκύκλια λεγόμενα καὶ φιλοσοφίαν αὐτὴν τρυφῆς ἕνεκεν ἢ ἀρχῆς τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας. ὁ δέ γε ἀστεῖος τὴν ἡμέραν ἕνεκα ἡμέρας καὶ τὸ φῶς ἕνεκα φωτὸς καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἕνεκα τοῦ καλοῦ κτᾶται μόνου, οὐχ ἕνεκα ἄλλου τινός. διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει· "ὅπως πειράσω αὐτούς, εἰ πορεύσονται τῷ νόμῳ μου ἢ οὔ" (Exod. xvi. 4)· νόμος γὰρ
168 θεῖος οὗτος, τὴν ἀρετὴν δι' ἑαυτὴν τιμᾶν. τοὺς οὖν ἀσκητὰς ὥσπερ νόμισμα δοκιμάζει ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος, πότερα κεκηλίδωνται ἐπί τι τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀναφέροντες τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγαθὸν ἢ ὡς δόκιμοι[2]

[1] συναριθμήσεται (as in LXX.) is restored in accordance with Mangey's conjecture.
[2] δόκιμοι is substituted for δόκιμον (conj. Tr.)

[a] Or "than luxurious living."
[b] πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας. πρός seems to be used as in the phrase πρὸς ἄλλον ζῆν, 'to live with reference to, dependent

says "each man shall reckon what suffices for him as a lamb" (Exod. xii. 4).

Both in the case of manna then, and in the case of every boon which God confers upon our race, it is good to take what is fixed by strict measure and reckoning and not that which is above and beyond us; for to do this is to be over-reaching. Let the soul, then, gather the day's portion for a day (Exod. xvi. 4), that it may declare not itself but the bountiful God guardian of the good things. LVIII. And the reason for the injunction we are considering seems to me to be this. The day is a symbol of light, and the light of the soul is training. Many, then, have acquired the lights in the soul for night and darkness, not for day and light; all elementary lessons for example, and what is called school-learning and philosophy itself when pursued with no motive higher than parading their superiority,[a] or from desire of an office under[b] our rulers. But the man of worthy aims sets himself to acquire day for the sake of day, light for the sake of light, the beautiful for the sake of the beautiful alone, not for the sake of something else. And this is why he goes on with the words: "that I may prove them whether they will walk in My law or no" (Exod. xvi. 4); for this is the divine law, to value excellence for its own sake. The right principle, therefore, tests all aspirants as one does a coin, to see whether they have been debased in that they refer the soul's good to something external, or whether, as tried and approved men, they distinguish

upon, at the beck and call of, another' (Cope, *The Rhetoric of Aristotle*, i. 9. 27). "A life of luxury or office-holding at the will of the powers that be."

διαστέλλουσιν ἐν διανοίᾳ μόνῃ τοῦτο διαφυλάττοντες. τούτοις συμβέβηκε μὴ τοῖς γηίνοις ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἐπιστήμαις τρέφεσθαι.

169 LIX. Δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ δι' ἑτέρων, ὅταν φῇ· "τὸ πρωὶ ἐγένετο καταπαυομένης τῆς δρόσου κύκλῳ τῆς παρεμβολῆς, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τῆς ἐρήμου ‹λεπτὸν› ὡσεὶ κόριον, λευκὸν ὡσεὶ πάγος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτὸ εἶπον ἕτερος τῷ ἑτέρῳ Τί ἐστι τοῦτο; οὐ γὰρ ᾔδεισαν, τί ἦν. εἶπε δὲ αὐτοῖς Μωυσῆς Οὗτος ὁ ἄρτος, ὃν δέδωκεν ἡμῖν κύριος τοῦ φαγεῖν, τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα ὃ συνέταξε κύριος" (Exod. xvi. 13 ff.). ὁρᾷς τῆς ψυχῆς τροφὴν οἵα ἐστί· λόγος θεοῦ συνεχής, ἐοικὼς δρόσῳ κύκλῳ πᾶσαν περιειληφὼς καὶ μηδὲν
170 μέρος ἀμέτοχον αὐτοῦ ἐῶν. φαίνεται δ' οὐ πανταχοῦ ὁ λόγος οὗτος, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐρήμου παθῶν καὶ κακιῶν, καὶ ἔστι λεπτὸς νοῆσαί τε καὶ νοηθῆναι καὶ σφόδρα διαυγὴς καὶ καθαρὸς ὁραθῆναι, καὶ ἔστιν ὡσεὶ κόριον. φασὶ δὲ οἱ γεωπόνοι τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ κορίου διαιρεθὲν εἰς ἄπειρα καὶ τμηθὲν καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν καὶ τμημάτων σπαρὲν βλαστάνειν οὕτως, ὡς καὶ τὸ ὅλον ἠδύνατο· τοιοῦτος καὶ ὁ θεοῦ λόγος, καὶ δι' ὅλων ὠφελητικὸς καὶ διὰ παντὸς μέρους καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος.
171 μήποτε δὲ ὁμοιοῦται καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν κόρῃ· ὡς γὰρ αὕτη βραχύτατον οὖσα μέρος τὰς τῶν ὄντων ὁρᾷ ζώνας ὅλας καὶ θάλατταν ἄπειρον

[a] The κόριον, coriander-seed, suggests the κόρη (*pupilla*) of the eye.

and guard this treasure as belonging to thought and mind alone. Such men have the privilege of being fed not with earthly things but with the heavenly forms of knowledge.

LIX. He gives a further elucidation of this point, when he says, "in the early morning when the dew ceased it appeared all round the camp, and lo! upon the face of the wilderness a fine thing as it were coriander seed, white like hoar-frost on the ground. And when they saw it, they said one to another, 'What is this?' for they knew not what it was. And Moses said unto them, 'This bread, which the Lord hath given us to eat, is this word, which the Lord hath prescribed'" (Exod. xvi. 13 ff.). You see of what sort the soul's food is. It is a word of God, continuous, resembling dew, embracing all the soul and leaving no portion without part in itself. But not everywhere does this word show itself, but on the wilderness of passions and wickednesses, and it is fine and delicate both to conceive and be conceived, and surpassingly clear and transparent to behold, and it is as it were coriander seed. Tillers of the soil say that if you cut a coriander seed and divide it into countless pieces, each of the portions into which you cut it, if sown, grows exactly as the whole seed could have done. Such too is the word of God, able to confer benefits both as a whole and by means of every part, yes any part you light upon. It is possible that a resemblance between the word of God and the pupil[a] of the eye, is also intended. For as the pupil of the eye is a very small part of it and sees the zones of the universe in their completeness,

[121] καὶ | ἀέρος μέγεθος καὶ τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ ὅσον ἀνατέλλων καὶ δυόμενος ὁ ἥλιος ὁρίζει, οὕτως καὶ ὁ θεοῦ λόγος ὀξυδερκέστατός ἐστιν, ὡς πάντα ἐφορᾶν εἶναι ἱκανός, * * * ᾧ τὰ θέας ἄξια κατόψονται· παρὸ καὶ λευκόν ἐστι· τί γὰρ ἂν εἴη λαμπρότερον ἢ τηλαυγέστερον θείου λόγου, οὗ κατὰ μετουσίαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὴν ἀχλὺν καὶ τὸν ζόφον ἀπελαύνει φωτὸς κοινωνῆσαι ψυχικοῦ γλιχόμενα;

172 LX. Ἴδιον δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον συμβαίνει πάθος. ὅταν γὰρ καλέσῃ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τὴν ψυχήν, πῆξιν ἀνεγείρει τῷ γεώδει καὶ σωματικῷ καὶ αἰσθητικῷ παντί· διὸ λέγεται τὸ "ὡσεὶ πάγος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς" (Exod. xvi. 14)· καὶ γὰρ ἡνίκα ὁ τὸν θεὸν ὁρῶν φυγὴν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν παθῶν μελετᾷ, πήγνυται τὰ κύματα, τουτέστιν ἡ φορὰ καὶ αὔξησις καὶ τὸ μεγάλαυχον αὐτῶν· "ἐπάγη γὰρ τὰ κύματα ἐν μέσῳ τῆς θαλάσσης" (Exod. xv. 8),
173 ἵνα διαβῇ τὸ πάθος ὁ βλέπων τὸν ὄντα. πυνθάνονται οὖν ἀλλήλων αἱ ψυχαὶ αἱ πεπονθυῖαι μὲν ἤδη τὸν λόγον, οὐκ ἔχουσαι δ' εἰπεῖν τὸ "τί ἐστι" (Exod. xvi. 15)· καὶ γὰρ γλυκανθέντες πολλάκις τὸν κεκινηκότα χυμὸν ἀγνοοῦμεν καὶ ἡδέων ἀτμῶν ὀσφραινόμενοι τίνες εἰσὶν οὐκ ἴσμεν· οὕτως οὖν ἡ ψυχὴ γανωθεῖσα πολλάκις εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔχει, τί τὸ γανῶσαν αὐτήν ἐστι· διδάσκεται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱεροφάντου καὶ προφήτου Μωυσέως, ὃς

and the boundless ocean, and the vast expanse of air and of the infinite heaven, all that is bounded by the rising and the setting sun, so the word of God also has keenest sight, and is able to survey all things, . . . wherewith they shall clearly see all that is worth beholding. Accordingly it is also white; for what could be brighter or more far-shining than the divine word, by communion with which even other things dispel their mist and their gloom, eagerly desiring to become sharers in the light of the soul?

LX. An affection peculiar to it is produced by this word. When it has summoned the soul to itself, it brings about a congealment in all that part of us that is earthly, bodily, sense-bound; and this accounts for the words "as it were hoar-frost on the earth" (Exod. xvi. 14). For we also find that when he that sees God is studying flight from the passions, the waves become fixed as if frozen, that is to say the rush and growth and vainglory of the passions; "for the waves became solid in the midst of the sea" (Exod. xv. 8), in order that he that seeth Him that is might pass beyond passion. The souls, therefore, that have indeed already had experience of the word, but are not able to answer the question, inquire one of another "What is it?" (Exod. xvi. 15). For it often happens that on finding a sweet taste in our mouths we are uncertain as to the flavour which has given rise to it, and that when we catch the scent of pleasant odours we do not know what they are. In the same way then the soul, when it has been gladdened, is often unable to say what the thing that gladdens it is. But it is taught by the hierophant and prophet Moses: he will tell it, This

ἐρεῖ· "οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἄρτος" (ibid.), ἡ τροφή, ἣν δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τῇ ψυχῇ, προσενέγκασθαι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ῥῆμα καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον· "οὗτος" γὰρ "ὁ ἄρτος, ὃν δέδωκεν ἡμῖν φαγεῖν, τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα."

174 LXI. Λέγει δὲ καὶ ἐν Δευτερονομίῳ· "καὶ ἐκάκωσέ σε καὶ ἐλιμαγχόνησέ σε, καὶ ἐψώμισέ σε τὸ μάννα, ὃ οὐκ ᾔδεισαν οἱ πατέρες σου, ἵνα ἀναγγείλῃ σοι, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι <τῷ> ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ" (Deut. viii. 3). ἡ κάκωσις αὕτη ἱλασμός ἐστι· καὶ γὰρ τῇ δεκάτῃ κακῶν ἡμῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἱλάσκεται (Lev. xvi. 30)· ὅταν γὰρ τὰ ἡδέα περισυλᾶται, δοκοῦμεν κακοῦσθαι, τὸ δ' ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἵλεων τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν.

175 περιποιεῖ δ' ἡμῖν καὶ λιμόν, οὐχ ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐκ πάθους καὶ κακίας συνισταμένων· τεκμήριον δέ, διατρέφει γὰρ ἡμᾶς τῷ γενικωτάτῳ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ· τὸ γὰρ μάννα ἑρμηνεύεται "τί," τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ γενικώτατον τῶν ὄντων· καὶ ὁ λόγος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπεράνω παντός ἐστι τοῦ κόσμου καὶ πρεσβύτατος καὶ γενικώτατος τῶν ὅσα γέγονε. τοῦτον τὸν λόγον οὐκ ᾔδεισαν οἱ πατέρες, οὐχ οἱ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλ' οἱ χρόνῳ πολιοὶ οἱ λέγοντες· "δῶμεν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ ἀποστρέψωμεν εἰς" τὸ

176 πάθος "Αἴγυπτον" (Num. xiv. 4). ἀναγγελλέτω

[122] οὖν ὁ θεὸς τῇ ψυχῇ, ὅτι | "οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος" [κατ' εἰκόνα], "ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι τῷ ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ," τουτέστι καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ λόγου τραφή-

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[a] As Heinemann points out, *De Congressu eruditionis*

bread (*ibid.*) is the food which God hath given to the soul, for it to feed on His own utterance and His own word: for this bread, which He hath given us to eat, is "this word."

LXI. He says in Deuteronomy also: "And He afflicted thee and made thee weak by hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thy fathers knew not, that He might proclaim to thee, that not on bread alone shall man live, but on every word that goeth forth through the mouth of God" (Deut. viii. 3). This afflicting is propitiation; for on the tenth day also by afflicting our souls He makes propitiation (Lev. xvi. 30). For when we are being deprived of pleasant things, we think we are being afflicted, but in reality thereby we have God propitious to us. He occasions famine also to us, not a famine of virtue, but a famine of the creations [a] of passion and wickedness. We have a proof of this in His feeding us with His own most "generic" [b] word; for "manna" means "something," [c] and this is the most generic of all terms. And the word of God is above all the world, and is eldest and most all-embracing of created things. This word "the fathers knew not." This does not mean the real forefathers, but those whose hair was grey from age who said, "Let us appoint a leader and let us return to Egypt," that is, "to passion" (Numb. xiv. 4). Let God then proclaim to the soul, "Not on bread only shall men live, but on every utterance that goeth forth through the mouth of God," that is to say he shall be fed

gratia 172 proves that Philo wrote not τὸν συνιστάμενον but τῶν συνισταμένων.

[b] Or "all-embracing."

[c] Philo audaciously substitutes the indefinite for the interrogative pronoun ("something" for "what?"). See App. p. 483.

σεται καὶ διὰ μέρους αὐτοῦ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ στόμα σύμβολον τοῦ λόγου, τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα μέρος αὐτοῦ. τρέφεται δὲ τῶν μὲν τελειοτέρων ἡ ψυχὴ ὅλῳ τῷ λόγῳ· ἀγαπήσαιμεν δ' ἂν ἡμεῖς, εἰ καὶ μέρει τραφείημεν αὐτοῦ.

177 LXII. *Ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν εὔχονται θεοῦ λόγῳ τραφῆναι. ὁ δὲ Ἰακὼβ καὶ τὸν λόγον ὑπερκύψας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φησι τρέφεσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ, λέγει δ' οὕτως· "ὁ θεός, ᾧ εὐηρέστησαν οἱ πατέρες μου Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαάκ, ὁ θεὸς ὁ τρέφων με ἐκ νεότητος ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης, ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ῥυόμενός με ἐκ πάντων τῶν κακῶν, εὐλογήσαι τὰ παιδία ταῦτα"* (Gen. xlviii. 15, 16). *ὡραῖος οὗτος ὁ τρόπος· τροφέα τὸν θεόν, οὐχὶ λόγον, ἡγεῖται, τὸν δὲ ἄγγελον, ὅς ἐστι λόγος, ὥσπερ ἰατρὸν κακῶν· φυσικώτατα· ἀρέσκει γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν προηγούμενα ἀγαθὰ αὐτοπροσώπως αὐτὸν τὸν ὄντα διδόναι, τὰ δεύτερα δὲ τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ λόγους αὐτοῦ· δεύτερα δ' ἐστὶν ὅσα περιέχει κακῶν ἀπαλλαγήν.*

178 *διὰ τοῦτ' οἶμαι καὶ ὑγείαν μὲν τὴν ἁπλῆν, ἧς οὐ προηγεῖται νόσος ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν, ὁ θεὸς χαρίζεται δι' ἑαυτοῦ μόνου, τὴν δὲ γινομένην κατὰ νόσου φυγὴν καὶ διὰ τέχνης καὶ διὰ ἰατρικῆς, ἐπιγράφων καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ καὶ τεχνίτῃ τὸ δοκεῖν ἰᾶσθαι, πρὸς ἀλήθειαν αὐτὸς καὶ διὰ τούτων καὶ ἄνευ τούτων ἰώμενος. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ ψυχῆς ἔχει· τὰ μὲν ἀγαθά, τὰς τροφάς, αὐτὸς χαρίζεται δι' ἑαυτοῦ, διὰ δὲ ἀγγέλων καὶ λόγων ὅσα ἀπαλλαγὴν περιέχει κακῶν.*

[a] Or "verb."

both by all the word and by a part of it ; for the mouth is a symbol of utterance or speech, and the statement [a] is a part of speech. The soul of the most perfect is fed by the word as a whole ; we may well be content should we be fed even by a portion of it.

LXII. Now those of whom we have been speaking pray to be fed with the word of God. But Jacob, looking even higher than the word, says that he is fed by God Himself. He speaks on this wise : "The God to Whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac were well-pleasing, the God Who feedeth me from my youth up unto this day, the Angel who delivereth me out of all my ills, bless these boys" (Gen. xlviii. 15 f.). How beautiful is his tone and temper ! He looks on God as feeding him, not His Word ; but the Angel, who is the Word, as healer of ills. This is the language of a true philosopher. He thinks it meet and right that He that is should Himself in His own Person give the principal boons, while His Angels and Words give the secondary gifts ; and secondary are such as involve riddance from ills. For this reason, I think, God bestows health in the simplest sense, preceded by no illness in our bodies, by Himself only, but health that comes by way of escape from illness He bestows both through medical science and through the physician's skill, letting both knowledge and practitioner enjoy the credit of healing, though it is He Himself that heals alike by these means and without them. Now His mode of dealing is the same in the case of the soul. The good things, the food, He Himself bestows with His own hand, but by the agency of Angels and Words such as involve riddance of ills.

179 LXIII. Ταῦτα δ' ηὔξατο αἰτιώμενος τὸν πολιτικὸν Ἰωσήφ, ὃς ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν ὅτι "ἐκθρέψω σε ἐκεῖ"· "σπεύσαντες" γάρ φησιν "ἀνάβητε πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου καὶ εἴπατε αὐτῷ Τάδε λέγει" καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, εἶτα "κατάβηθι πρὸς μὲ καὶ μὴ μείνῃς," ἐπὶ πᾶσι "καὶ ἐκθρέψω σε ἐκεῖ, ἔτη γὰρ πέντε λιμός" (Gen. xlv. 9, 11). ἐπιμεμφόμενος οὖν ἅμα καὶ διδάσκων τὸν δοκησίσοφον λέγει· ὦ οὗτος, ἴσθι τὰς ψυχῆς τροφὰς ἐπιστήμας ὑπαρχούσας, ἃς οὐχ ὁ αἰσθητὸς λόγος ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς δωρεῖται, ὁ τρέφων ἐκ νεότητος καὶ πρώτης ἀκμῆς <με> μέχρι τελείου φωτὸς (cf. Gen. xlviii. 15) αὐτὸς
180 ἐμπλήσει. ἔπαθεν οὖν ταὐτὸν ὁ Ἰωσὴφ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ Ῥαχήλ· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη ἐνόμισε δύνασθαί τι τὸ γενητόν, διὸ λέγει· "δός μοι τέκνα" (Gen. xxx. 1)· ἀλλ' ὅ γε πτερνιστὴς αὐτὴν μωμησάμενος ἐρεῖ· πλάνον πεπλάνησαι πολύν, οὐ γὰρ ἀντὶ θεοῦ ἐγώ |
[123] εἰμι τοῦ μόνου δυναμένου τὰς ψυχῶν μήτρας ἀνοιγνύναι καὶ σπείρειν ἐν αὐταῖς ἀρετὰς καὶ ποιεῖν ἐγκύμονας καὶ τικτούσας τὰ καλά· κατάμαθέ γέ τοι τὴν ἀδελφήν σου Λείαν καὶ εὑρήσεις ἐξ οὐδενὸς γενητοῦ λαμβάνουσαν τὴν σπορὰν καὶ τὴν γονήν, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ· "ἰδὼν γὰρ κύριος, ὅτι μισεῖται Λεία, ἤνοιξε τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς· Ῥαχὴλ δὲ ἦν στεῖρα" (Gen. xxix. 31).
181 ἀλλ' ὅρα πάλιν τὴν ἐν τούτῳ λεπτουργίαν· τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁ θεὸς τὰς μήτρας ἀνοίγει, σπείρων ἐν αὐταῖς τὰς καλὰς πράξεις, ἡ δὲ μήτρα, παραδεξαμένη τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑπὸ θεοῦ, οὐ τίκτει τῷ θεῷ—χρεῖος γὰρ οὐδενός ἐστιν ὁ ὤν—ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ τῷ Ἰακὼβ υἱούς· ἐμοῦ γὰρ ἕνεκα ἔσπειρεν ὁ θεὸς

LXIII. In offering this prayer Jacob passed a censure on Joseph the statesman, who had ventured to say " I will nourish thee there." His words were, " Make haste and go up to my father and say to him ' thus saith ' " and so on, and then " come down to me and tarry not," finishing with " and I will nourish thee there, for there shall be famine for five years " (Gen. xlv. 9, 11). So Jacob at once chides and instructs the man wise in his own conceit when he says : " You must know, fine Sir, that the foods which nourish the soul are various forms of knowledge, and that these are not bestowed by the word of bodily sense but by God. He who reared me from youth and early prime to full-grown manhood (*cf.* Gen. xlviii. 15) will Himself satisfy my needs." Joseph therefore went through the same experience as his mother Rachel. She too imagined that a created being has some power, for she says " Give me children " (Gen. xxx. 1). But the Supplanter will find fault with her and say, ' Thou hast greatly erred, for I am not in the place of God, who alone hath power to open the wombs of souls, and to sow virtues in them, and to make them pregnant with noble things, and to give birth to them. Take note of Leah thy sister, and thou wilt find her receiving seed and offspring out of no created being but by God's own gift ' ; " for the Lord, when he saw that Leah was hated, opened her womb, but Rachel was barren " (Gen. xxix. 31). But note again the delicate subtilty here. God opens the wombs of virtue, sowing in them noble doings, but the womb, after receiving virtue at God's hand, does not bear to God—for He that is is in need of no one—but bears sons to me Jacob ; for it may well be that it

ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ τάχα, οὐχ ἑαυτοῦ. οὐκοῦν ἄλλος μὲν ἀνὴρ τῆς Λείας ὁ ἡσυχαζόμενος εὑρίσκεται, ἄλλος δὲ πατὴρ τῶν ἐκ Λείας τέκνων· ἀνὴρ μὲν γὰρ ὁ τὴν μήτραν ἀνοίγων, πατὴρ δὲ τῶν τέκνων, ᾧ ταῦτα τίκτειν λέγεται.

182 LXIV. "Καὶ ἔχθραν θήσω ἀνὰ μέσον σοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς γυναικός" (Gen. iii. 15). ὄντως ἐστὶν ἡδονὴ ἐχθρὸν αἰσθήσει, καίτοι δοκοῦν ἐνίοις μάλιστα εἶναι φίλον· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὸν κόλακα οὐκ ἄν τις ἑταῖρον εἴποι—νόσος γὰρ φιλίας ἡ κολακεία—οὐδὲ τὴν ἑταίραν εὔνουν ἐραστῇ—τοῖς γὰρ διδομένοις, οὐκ αὐτῷ, προσπέπονθεν—οὕτω καὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐξετάζων εὑρήσεις νόθον οἰκειότητα ὑπο-
183 δυομένην πρὸς αἴσθησιν. ὅταν γέ τοι κορεσθῶμεν ἡδονῆς, ἐκπίπτει τῶν τόνων ἡμῶν τὰ αἰσθητήρια· ἢ τοὺς οἴνῳ ἢ ἔρωτι μεθύοντας οὐ καταμανθάνεις, ὅτι ὁρῶντες οὐχ ὁρῶσι καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκούουσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων ἀφήρηνται τὰς ἀκριβεῖς ἐνεργείας; ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ διὰ πλῆθος ἄμετρον τροφῆς ἅπαντες οἱ τόνοι τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὑφείθησαν ὕπνου καταλαμβάνοντος, ὃς καὶ τοὔνομα ἔσχεν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑφέσεως αὐτῶν· χαλᾶται γὰρ τότε τὸ αἰσθητικὸν ὄργανον, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς ἐγρηγόρσεσιν ἐπιτείνεται, μηκέτι κωφὰς τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκτὸς πλήξεις δεχόμενον ἀλλὰ γεγωνυίας καὶ ἐναργεῖς τήν τε ἠχὴν ἄχρι τοῦ νοῦ διαδιδούσας· δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν πληχθέντα γνωρίσαι τὸ ἐκτὸς καὶ λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ

[a] Philo connects ὕφεσις ("relaxing") with ὕπνος ("sleep").

was for my sake, not for His own sake that God sowed seed in virtue. Accordingly One is found to be husband to Leah, who is passed over in silence, and another to be father of the children born of Leah. For He that openeth the womb is husband, but father of the children is he to whom she is said to bear these.

LXIV. "And I will put enmity between thee and the woman" (Gen. iii. 15). In reality pleasure is a foe to sense, albeit thought by some to be a close friend. But just as no one would call the flatterer a comrade, since flattery is friendship diseased, and no one would say that the courtesan is kindly to her lover, since her tenderness is not for him but for his presents, so when you put pleasure to the test you will find that she is disguised under a counterfeit semblance of friendship with sense. You know how when we have surfeited ourselves with pleasure, our organs of sense relax their vigour. Or do you not observe men intoxicated with wine or love, how seeing they do not see and hearing they do not hear and how they are deprived of the power to exercise their other senses with any precision? It sometimes happens that owing to much overeating the vigour of all the senses is relaxed as sleep overtakes the man. Indeed sleep got its name from this relaxing [a] of the senses. For at such a time the organ of perception grows slack, just as when we wake up its intensity is heightened, and the impressions which we receive from without are no longer dull, but are clear and ringing, and carry the sound all the way to the mind; for the mind has to become cognizant of what is without by receiving a blow, and so to gain

184 τύπον ἐναργῆ. LXV. τήρει δ' ὅτι οὐκ
εἶπεν "ἔχθραν θήσω σοὶ καὶ τῇ γυναικί," ἀλλὰ
"ἀνὰ μέσον σοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναικός." διὰ τί δέ;
ὅτι περὶ τὸ μέσον καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐν μεθορίῳ κείμενον
ἡδονῆς καὶ αἰσθήσεως γίνεται τούτων ὁ πόλεμος.
[124] τὸ δὲ μέσον ἀμφοῖν | ἐστι τὸ πότιμον, τὸ ἐδώδιμον,
τὸ εὐτρεπὲς πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα, ὧν ἕκαστον
αἰσθητόν τέ ἐστι καὶ ποιητικὸν ἡδονῆς. ὅταν οὖν
ἀπλήστως ἐμφορηθῇ τούτων ἡ ἡδονή, βλάβην
185 εὐθὺς εἰργάσατο αἰσθήσει. τὸ δ' "ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ
σπέρματός σου καὶ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῆς" εἴρηται
πάλιν φυσικῶς· σπέρμα γὰρ πᾶν ἐστι γενέσεως
ἀρχή· ἀρχὴ δὲ ἡδονῆς μὲν [οὐ] τὸ πάθος, [ἀλλ']
ἄλογος ὁρμή, αἰσθήσεως δὲ ὁ νοῦς· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτου
καθάπερ τινὸς πηγῆς αἱ αἰσθητικαὶ τείνονται
δυνάμεις, μάλιστα κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον Μωυσῆν, ὃς
ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ πεπλάσθαι φησὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, τὴν
αἴσθησιν ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ. ὅπερ οὖν ἡδονὴ πρὸς
αἴσθησιν, τοῦτο πάθος πρὸς νοῦν, ὥστ' ἐπειδὴ
ἐκεῖνα ἐχθρά, καὶ ταῦτ' ἂν εἴη πολέμια.
186 LXVI. καὶ περιφανής ἐστιν ὁ τῶνδε πόλεμος· κατὰ
γοῦν τὰς ἐπικρατείας τοῦ νοῦ, ὅτε τοῖς νοητοῖς καὶ
ἀσωμάτοις παραβάλλει, φυγαδεύεται τὸ πάθος· καὶ
ἔμπαλιν ὅταν τοῦτο νικήσῃ νίκην κακήν, εἴκει ὁ
νοῦς κωλυόμενος προσέχειν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ
πᾶσιν ἔργοις. φησὶ γοῦν ἐν ἑτέροις, ὅτι "ὅταν
μὲν ἐπῆρε τὰς χεῖρας Μωυσῆς, κατίσχυεν Ἰσραήλ,
ὅταν δὲ καθῆκε, κατίσχυεν Ἀμαλήκ" (Exod. xvii.
11), τοῦτο παριστὰς ὅτι ὁ νοῦς ἐπειδὰν μὲν
ἐξάρῃ αὑτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν θνητῶν καὶ μετεωρισθῇ,

a vivid impression of it. LXV. Observe that the words are not "I will set enmity for thee and the woman," but "between thee and the woman." Now why is it put so? Because it is over that which is *between* pleasure and sense, over that which lies in their boundary so to speak, that the warfare of these two arises. But what is between them both are drinkables, eatables, what is adapted to all such purposes, each one of them being both an object of sense and a thing productive of pleasure. When pleasure, therefore, has indulged immoderately in these, it forthwith inflicts injury on sense. The expression again "between thy seed and her seed" is full of philosophical truth: for every seed is a starting-point of existence, but the starting-point of pleasure is passion, an irrational impulse, that of sense the mind; for from the mind as from a fountain the faculties of sense flow forth and extend. This is certainly taught by Moses, the holy prophet, who says that the woman was fashioned out of Adam, sense (that is) out of mind. What pleasure, then, is to sense, that passion is to mind. Since, therefore, the former pair are mutually hostile, the latter must also be at war with each other.

LXVI. And their warfare is patent. When mind is victorious, devoting itself to immaterial things its proper object, passion quits the scene: and on the other hand, when passion has won an evil victory, mind gives in, being prevented from giving heed to itself and to all its own occupations. Moses elsewhere says, "Whenever Moses lifted up his hands, Israel prevailed, but when he dropped them, Amalek prevailed" (Exod. xvii. 11), showing that when the mind lifts itself up away from mortal things and is

ῥώννυται τὸ ὁρῶν τὸν θεόν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν Ἰσραήλ, ἐπειδὰν δὲ καθῇ τοὺς ἰδίους τόνους καὶ ἐξασθενήσῃ, αὐτίκα τὸ πάθος ἰσχύσει, ὁ Ἀμαλήκ, ὃς ἑρμηνεύεται λαὸς ἐκλείχων· ὄντως γὰρ διεσθίει τὴν ὅλην ψυχὴν καὶ ἐκλιχμᾶται, μηδὲν ἐν αὐτῇ σπέρμα ἢ
187 ζώπυρον ἀρετῆς ὑπολείπων. παρὸ καὶ λέγεται "ἀρχὴ ἐθνῶν Ἀμαλήκ" (Num. xxiv. 20), ὅτι τῶν μιγάδων καὶ συγκλύδων καὶ πεφυρμένων ἀβουλεὶ τὸ πάθος ἄρχει καὶ κυριεύει. διὰ τούτου πᾶς ὁ ψυχῆς ἀναρριπίζεται πόλεμος· αἷς γοῦν χαρίζεται διανοίαις ὁ θεὸς εἰρήνην, ταύταις ὁμολογεῖ ἀπαλείψειν "τὸ μνημόσυνον Ἀμαλὴκ ἐκ τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανόν" (Exod. xvii. 14).

188 LXVII. Τὸ δὲ "αὐτός σου τηρήσει κεφαλήν, καὶ σὺ τηρήσεις αὐτοῦ πτέρναν" (Gen. iii. 15) τῇ μὲν φωνῇ βαρβαρισμός ἐστι, τῷ δὲ σημαινομένῳ κατόρθωμα· τῷ γὰρ ὄφει λέγεται περὶ τῆς γυναικός, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ "αὐτὸς" οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' "αὐτή." τί οὖν λεκτέον; ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς λόγου μετελήλυθεν ἐπὶ τὸ σπέρμα καὶ
[125] τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῆς· ἀρχὴ δὲ ἦν αἰσθήσεως | ὁ νοῦς· οὗτος δὲ ἄρρην, ἐφ' οὗ χρὴ λέγειν αὐτὸς καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. ὀρθῶς οὖν τῇ ἡδονῇ λέγεται, ὅτι ὁ νοῦς σου τηρήσει τὸ κεφάλαιον καὶ ἡγεμονικὸν δόγμα, καὶ σὺ τηρήσεις αὐτοῦ, τοῦ νοῦ, τὰς ἐπιβάσεις καὶ ἐφιδρύσεις τῶν ἀρεσκόντων, αἷς αἱ πτέρναι κατὰ λόγον εἰκάσθησαν.

189 LXVIII. τὸ δὲ "τηρήσει" δύο δηλοῖ· ἓν μὲν τὸ οἷον διαφυλάξει καὶ διασώσει, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ ἴσον

[a] The technical term for an error affecting a single word.

borne aloft, that which sees God, which is Israel, gains strength, but when it has lowered its special powers and grown weak, immediately passion, named "Amalek," which means "a people licking out," will become strong: for in very deed it eats up the whole soul and licks it out, leaving behind in it no seed or spark of virtue. In keeping with this are the words "Amalek the first of the nations" (Numb. xxiv. 20), because passion rules and lords it over promiscuous hordes that have drifted together without purpose or meaning. Through passion all the war of the soul is fanned into flame, and so God promises to minds to which He vouchsafes the gift of peace, that He will blot out "the memorial of Amalek from under heaven" (Exod. xvii. 14).

LXVII. The sentence "he shall watch thy head, and thou shalt watch his heel" (Gen. iii. 15) is a barbarism,[a] but has a perfectly correct meaning. It is addressed to the serpent concerning the woman, but the woman is not "he" but "she." What is to be said then? He has left off speaking about the woman and passed on to her seed and origin; but the mind is the origin of sense; and mind is masculine, in speaking of which we should use the pronouns "he" and "his" and so on. Rightly, then, is it said to Pleasure, "the Mind shall watch thy chief and principal doctrine, and thou shalt watch it, the Mind, as it acts and rests upon its accepted tenets.[b]" This basing of conduct and principle on tenets is naturally represented by the word "heels." LXVIII. The word "shall watch" has two meanings, one like "shall guard and preserve," the other equivalent to "shall watch for to

[b] See App. p. 483.

τῷ ἐπιτηρήσει πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν. ἀνάγκη δὲ τὸν νοῦν ἢ φαῦλον ἢ σπουδαῖον εἶναι· ὁ μὲν οὖν ἄφρων φύλαξ καὶ ταμίας ἂν γένοιτο τῆς ἡδονῆς, χαίρει γὰρ αὐτῇ, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος ἐχθρός, καραδοκῶν ὅτε ἐπιθέμενος ἰσχύσει καθελεῖν αὐτὴν εἰσάπαν. καὶ μὴν ἔμπαλιν ἡ ἡδονὴ τοῦ μὲν ἄφρονος διατηρεῖ τὴν ἐπίβασιν, τοῦ δὲ σοφοῦ λύειν καὶ ἀναιρεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖ τὴν ἔνστασιν, ἡγουμένη τὸν μὲν κατάλυσιν αὐτῆς μελετᾶν, τὸν δ' ἄφρονα δι' ὧν μάλιστα
190 σωθήσεται. ἀλλ' ὅμως πτερνίζειν δοκοῦσα καὶ ἀπατᾶν τὸν ἀστεῖον αὐτὴ πτερνισθήσεται πρὸς τοῦ πάλην ἠσκηκότος Ἰακώβ—πάλην δ' οὐ τὴν σώματος ἀλλ' ἣν παλαίει ψυχὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς τρόπους αὐτῆς πάθεσι καὶ κακίαις μαχομένη—· καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνήσει πτέρναν τοῦ ἀνταγωνιστοῦ πάθους, πρὶν ἀπειπεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ ὁμολογῆσαι, ὅτι ἐπτέρνισται καὶ νενίκηται δίς, ἔν τε τοῖς πρωτοτοκίοις καὶ ἐν τῷ εὐλογιστεῖν.
191 "δικαίως" γάρ φησιν "ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβ, ἐπτέρνικέ με γὰρ ἤδη δεύτερον· τότε τὰ πρωτοτόκιά μου εἴληφε, καὶ νῦν εἴληφε τὴν εὐλογίαν μου" (Gen. xxvii. 36). πρεσβύτερα δὲ ὁ μὲν φαῦλος ἡγεῖται τὰ σώματος, ὁ δ' ἀστεῖος τὰ ψυχῆς, ἃ καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειάν ἐστιν, οὐ χρόνῳ ἀλλὰ δυνάμει καὶ ἀξιώματι πρεσβύτερα καὶ πρῶτα ὄντως, ὡς καὶ ἄρχων ἐν πόλει· ἡγεμονὶς δὲ τοῦ συγκρίματος ἡ ψυχή.

192 LXIX. Εἴληφεν οὖν τὰ πρῶτα ὁ πρῶτος κατ' ἀρετήν, ἃ καὶ ἐπέβαλεν αὐτῷ· εἴληφε γὰρ καὶ <τὸ>

[a] See App. p. 483.

destroy." Now the mind must needs be either bad or good. The foolish mind will show itself a guardian and steward of pleasure, seeing that its delight is in pleasure; but the good mind will prove its enemy, watching eagerly for the moment when it shall set upon it and achieve its utter destruction. And mark this: Pleasure on the other hand watches over and preserves the procedure of the foolish mind, but endeavours to break up and destroy the way of life[a] of the wise mind, holding that the latter is planning her ruin, while the former is devising the best means to preserve her. But in spite of her expecting to throw and cheat the good mind, she shall herself be thrown by Jacob who is practised in wrestling, not the bodily wrestling but that in which the soul engages against dispositions that are her antagonists, fighting as she does with passions and wickednesses. And Jacob shall not let go the heel of his adversary, passion, till it has given in, and acknowledged that it has been twice thrown and vanquished, both in the matter of the birthright and in the blessing. For says Esau, "Rightly was his name called Jacob, for he hath supplanted me twice already; then he took my birthright, and now he has taken my blessing" (Gen. xxvii. 36). The bad man regards bodily things as more worshipful, the good man the things of the soul, as they are in reality, not in age but in value and dignity more worshipful, and really first, as is a magistrate in a city; and it is the soul that is sovereign over our composite being.

LXIX. He therefore that is first in virtue has received the things that are first, which indeed were his portion; for he has received the blessing also

εὐλογιστεῖν σὺν εὐχαῖς τελείαις. μάταιος δὲ καὶ οἰησίσοφος ὁ λέγων "τὰς ἐμὰς εὐλογίας καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ πρωτοτόκια εἴληφεν"· οὐ γὰρ τὰ σά, ὦ οὗτος, λαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ τοῖς σοῖς τὰ ἐναντία· τὰ μὲν γὰρ σὰ δουλείας, τὰ δ' ἐκείνου δεσποτείας ἠξίωται·
193 καὶ εἰ ἀγαπήσεις δοῦλος γενέσθαι τοῦ σοφοῦ, νουθεσίας καὶ σωφρονισμοῦ κοινωνήσεις, ἀμαθίαν καὶ ἀπαιδευσίαν κῆρας ψυχῆς ἀποβαλών· εὐχόμενος γὰρ ὁ πατήρ σοί φησιν, ὅτι "τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου δουλεύσεις" (Gen. xxvii. 40)· ἀλλ' οὐχὶ νῦν —οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξεταί σε ἀφηνιάζοντα—ἀλλ' ὅταν "ἐκλύσῃς τὸν ζυγὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τραχήλου σου" (ib.), τὸ αὔχημα καὶ φρύαγμα ἀποβαλὼν ὃ
[126] ἐκτήσω ὑποζεύξας | σεαυτὸν ὀχήματι παθῶν, ἡνιο-
194 χούσης ἀφροσύνης. νυνὶ μὲν δοῦλος εἶ χαλεπῶν καὶ ἀφορήτων τῶν ἐν σαυτῷ δεσποτῶν, οἷς νόμος ἐστὶ μηδένα ἐλεύθερον ποιεῖν· ἐὰν δὲ τούτους δρασμῷ χρησάμενος καταλίπῃς, ὑποδέξεταί σε φιλόδουλος δεσπότης ἐπ' ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς ἐλευθερίας καὶ οὐκ ἐκδώσει ἔτι τοῖς προτέροις δεσπόταις, μαθὼν παρὰ Μωυσέως δίδαγμα καὶ δόγμα ἀναγκαῖον, "μὴ παραδιδόναι παῖδα τῷ κυρίῳ, ὃς προστέθειται αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου· μετὰ γὰρ αὐτοῦ κατοικήσει ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, ᾧ ἐὰν ἀρέσκῃ
195 αὐτῷ" (Deut. xxiii. 15, 16). LXX. ἀλλ' ἕως οὐκ ἀποδέδρακας, ἔτι δ' ἐγκεχαλίνωσαι ταῖς ἐκείνων τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡνίαις, ἀνάξιος εἶ δουλεύειν σοφῷ· τεκμήριον μέγιστον ἤθους ἀνελευθέρου καὶ δουλοπρεποῦς παρέχεις, ὅταν λέγῃς "τὰ ἐμὰ

accompanied by perfect prayers. But vainly deeming himself wise is he who says, "My blessings and my birthright hath he taken": not thine, man, does he take, but those which are opposite to thine; for those which are thine have been accounted meet for slavery, but his for lordship. And if thou shalt consent to become a slave of the wise one, thou shalt cast from thee ignorance and boorishness, plagues of the soul, and be partaker of admonition and correction. For in his prayer thy father says to thee, "To thy brother shalt thou be a slave" (Gen. xxvii. 40); but not now shall this be, for he will not put up with thy restiveness, but when thou shalt have loosed the yoke from thy neck" (*ibid.*), casting from thee vaunting and insolence which thou didst acquire by yoking thyself to a chariot of passions, of which folly was the driver. Now indeed thou art a slave of the harsh and insufferable masters within thee, to whom it is a fixed law to set no one free. But if thou escape and abandon these, a master to whom his slaves are dear shall welcome thee, holding out bright hopes of liberty and shall not give thee up again to thy former masters. For he has learned from Moses a lesson and rule inviolable, "that a man deliver not up to his master a servant who has been handed over to him by the Lord;[a] for he shall dwell with him in whatever place it liketh him best" (Deut. xxiii. 15 f.). LXX. But so long as thou hast not run away, but art still governed by the bit and bridle of thine old masters, thou art unworthy to be slave to a wise man. Thou affordest most sure proof of a servile character unworthy of a free man by saying

[a] *i.e.*, "has taken refuge in Israel from a hard heathen master."

πρωτοτόκια καὶ τὰς ἐμὰς εὐλογίας" (Gen. xxvii. 36)· εἰς ἄμετρον γὰρ ἀμαθίαν κεχωρηκότων αἵδε αἱ φωναί, ἐπειδὴ μόνῳ ἁρμόττει θεῷ λέγειν τὸ ἐμόν, αὐτοῦ γὰρ ὄντως κτήματα μόνου τὰ πάντα.
196 διὸ καὶ μαρτυρήσει, ὅταν φῇ "τὰ δῶρά μου, δόματά μου, καρπώματά μου διατηρήσεις" (Num. xxviii. 2), ὅτι δῶρα δομάτων διαφέρει· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔμφασιν μεγέθους τελείων ἀγαθῶν δηλοῖ, ἃ τοῖς τελείοις χαρίζεται ὁ θεός, τὰ δ' εἰς βραχύτατον ἔσταλται, ὧν μετέχουσιν οἱ εὐφυεῖς ἀσκηταὶ
197 οἱ προκόπτοντες. οὗ χάριν καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ἀκολουθῶν τῷ θεοῦ θελήματι τὰ μὲν ὑπάρχοντα, ἅπερ ἦν αὐτῷ ἐκ θεοῦ, κατέχει, ἀποπέμπεται δὲ τὴν ἵππον τοῦ βασιλέως Σοδόμων (Gen. xiv. 21 ff.), ὡς καὶ τὰ ὑπαρκτὰ τῶν παλλακῶν. καὶ Μωυσῆς μέντοι τὰ μέγιστα δικαιονομεῖν ἀξιοῖ καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων, τὰ δὲ βραχέα τῶν κριμάτων ἐπιτρέπει τοῖς δευτερεύουσι σκοπεῖν (cf. Exod.
198 xviii. 26). ὅστις δὲ τολμᾷ λέγειν ἑαυτοῦ τι εἶναι, δοῦλος τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα γεγράψεται, ὥσπερ ὁ λέγων "ἠγάπηκα τὸν κύριόν μου καὶ τὴν γυναῖκά μου καὶ τὰ παιδία μου· οὐκ ἀποτρέχω ἐλεύθερος" (Exod. xxi. 5). εὖ γε τὸ ἑαυτῷ ὁμολογῆσαι δουλείαν· πῶς γὰρ ὁ λέγων οὐ δοῦλος Ἐμὸς ὁ κύριος νοῦς ἐστι, κύριος ἑαυτοῦ καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ· ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ αἴσθησις, αὔταρκες τῶν σωμάτων κριτήριον· ἐμὰ καὶ τὰ τούτων ἔκγονα, τοῦ μὲν νοῦ τὰ νοητά, τῆς δ' αἰσθήσεως τὰ αἰσθητά· ἐπ'

[a] See note on 24.
[b] A reference to Gen. xxv. 6.
[c] Literally, "do not run away."

"my birthright and my blessings" (Gen. xxvii. 36); for these utterances are those of men who are sunk in boundless ignorance, seeing that to speak of "Mine" befits God only, for all things are in reality the property of Him alone. For this reason He shall also testify, when he says, "Thou shalt preserve My gifts, My grants, My fruits" (Numb. xxviii. 2), that "gifts" excel "grants." For the term "gifts" brings out the sense of great and perfect boons, which God bestows upon the perfect; "grants" have shrunk to a very meagre compass: these are for those of natural excellence who practise and make progress. Because this is so, Abraham also in harmony with the will of God retains the property which had come to him from God, but gets rid of the horses [a] of the king of Sodom (Gen. xiv. 21 ff.), as also of the possessions of the concubines.[b] Moses, moreover, thinks fit to judge the weightiest cases and issues, but the investigation of the insignificant questions he commits to inferior officers (*cf.* Exod. xviii. 26). Whoever dares to say that anything is his own will thereby have registered himself a slave in perpetuity, even as the man who says "I have come to love my master and my wife and my children: I decline to go away free" [c] (Exod. xxi. 5). It is well that he acknowledged himself a slave; for how can the man be other than a slave who says "mine is the master, even mind," that is its own master and absolute lord; "mine also is sense-perception," a means of judging material forms that is dependent upon none; "mine also are the offspring of these," Mind's proper objects being Mind's offspring, and sensible objects the offspring of sense; "for in my power it is to exercise mind and

199 ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὸ νοεῖν, τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴ μόνον ἑαυτοῦ καταμαρτυρείτω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καταδικασθεὶς αἰωνίαν καὶ βεβαιοτάτην ὑπομενέτω δουλείαν κελεύοντος τό τε οὖς τρυπᾶσθαι, ἵνα μὴ παραδέξηται λόγους ἀρετῆς, καὶ δουλεύειν τὸν αἰῶνα τῷ νῷ καὶ τῇ αἰσθήσει, κακοῖς καὶ ἀνηλεέσι δεσπόταις.

200 LXXI. "Καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ εἶπε Πληθύνων πληθυνῶ τὰς λύπας σου καὶ τὸν στεναγμόν σου" (Gen. iii. 16). τῆς γυναικός, ἥτις αἴσθησις ἦν, [127] ἴδιόν ἐστιν ἀλγηδὼν πάθος, | ἣ λύπη καλεῖται· περὶ ὃ γὰρ γίνεται τὸ ἥδεσθαι, περὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ ἀλγεῖν· ἡδόμεθα δὲ διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων, ὥστε ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ ἀλγοῦμεν δι' αὐτῶν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν σπουδαῖος καὶ κεκαθαρμένος νοῦς ἐλάχιστα ἀλγεῖ, ἥκιστα γὰρ ἐπιτίθενται αὐτῷ αἱ αἰσθήσεις· τῷ δ' ἄφρονι περιττεύει τὸ πάθος οὐδὲν ἔχοντι ἀλεξιφάρμακον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, ᾧ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων

201 καὶ αἰσθητῶν κῆρας ἀμυνεῖται. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἑτέρως τύπτεται ὁ ἀθλητὴς καὶ ὁ δοῦλος, ὁ μὲν καθ' ὑπόπτωσιν ἐνδιδοὺς πρὸς τὰς αἰκίας καὶ ὑπείκων, ὁ δ' ἀθλητὴς ἀντέχων καὶ ἀντιστατῶν καὶ τὰς ἐπιφερομένας <πληγὰς> ἀποσειόμενος, καὶ κείρεις ἑτέρως μὲν ἄνθρωπον, ἑτέρως δὲ τὸ κῴδιον—τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ πάσχειν μόνον ἐξετάζεται, ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἀντιδρᾷ καὶ ὥσπερ ἀντιπέπονθε

202 σχηματίζων ἑαυτὸν πρὸς τὸ κείρεσθαι—οὕτως ὁ μὲν ἀλόγιστος ἀνδραπόδων δίκην ἑτέρῳ ὑπείκει καὶ ὑποπίπτει ταῖς ἀλγηδόσιν ὡς ἀφορήτοις δεσποίναις ἀντιβλέψαι πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀδυνατῶν, ἄρρενας

[a] 201 ff. are reproduced in an expanded form in *De Cher.* 79 ff.

to exercise the senses." But let him not only give evidence against himself. Let him be condemned also by God, and submit to a slavery eternal and inexorable when God bids his ear to be pierced, in order that it may not admit words of virtue, and bids him be slave for ever to Mind and to Sense, bad and pitiless masters.

LXXI. And to the woman He said, "I will greatly multiply thy sorrows and thy groaning" (Gen. iii. 16). Woman, who is, as we have seen, Sense, is the subject of an experience peculiarly her own, namely grief, which is called "sorrow"; for there is a quarter of our being in which gladness takes rise, and in that same quarter does grief also take rise: but it is through the senses that we feel gladness, so that of necessity we feel grief also through them. But the excellent and cleansed Mind grieves least, for the senses assail him least. But the foolish Mind experiences grief abundantly, having no antidote in the soul, with which to repel the deadly ills that come from the senses and their objects.[a] The athlete and the slave take a beating in different ways, the one submissively giving in and yielding to the stripes, while the athlete opposes and withstands and shakes off the blows that are falling upon him. You crop a man in one way, a (sheep's) fleece in another. The sheep has the rôle of mere passivity, whereas, in the man's case, there is not only an active reciprocity, but his very submission is, so to speak, also reciprocal, as he adapts his position and posture to the process of being cropped. Just in the same way the man who does not reason yields to another as slaves do, and submits to sorrows as intolerable mistresses, and is powerless to look them in the face, not able to

καὶ ἐλευθέρους σπᾶν μὴ δυνάμενος λογισμούς, παρὸ δὴ καὶ πλῆθος ἄπειρον διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων αὐτῷ τῶν ὀδυνηρῶν ἐπαντλεῖται, ὁ δ' ἐπιστήμων ἀθλητοῦ τρόπον μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ ῥώμης καρτερᾶς ἀντιβὰς πρὸς τὰ ἀλγεινὰ πάντα ἀντιπνεῖ, ὡς μὴ τιτρώσκεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξαδιαφορεῖν ἕκαστον, καί μοι δοκεῖ νεανιευσάμενος ἂν ἐπιφωνῆσαι τὸ τραγικὸν πρὸς τὴν ἀλγηδόνα οὕτως·

<Πίμπρη>, κάταιθε σάρκας, ἐμπλήσθητί μου
πίνουσα κελαινὸν αἷμα· πρόσθε γὰρ κάτω
γῆς εἶσιν ἄστρα, γῆ δ' ἄνεισ' ἐς αἰθέρα,
πρὶν ἐξ ἐμοῦ σοι θῶπ' ἀπαντῆσαι λόγον.

203 LXXII. ὥσπερ δὲ τῇ αἰσθήσει τὰ ἀλγεινὰ πάντα παραυξήσας τέθεικεν ὁ θεός, οὕτω τῇ σπουδαίᾳ ψυχῇ πλῆθος ἄφθονον ἀγαθῶν δεδώρηται. φησὶ γοῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ τελείου Ἀβραὰμ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· "κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ ὤμοσα, λέγει κύριος· οὗ εἵνεκα ἐποίησας τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο καὶ οὐκ ἐφείσω τοῦ υἱοῦ σου τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ δι' ἐμέ, ἦ μὴν εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε, καὶ πληθύνων πληθυνῶ τὸ σπέρμα σου ὡς τοὺς ἀστέρας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ὡς τὴν ἄμμον τὴν παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τῆς θαλάσσης" (Gen. xxii. 16, 17). εὖ καὶ τὸ ὅρκῳ βεβαιῶσαι τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν καὶ ὅρκῳ θεοπρεπεῖ· ὁρᾷς γὰρ ὅτι οὐ καθ' ἑτέρου ὀμνύει θεός, οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ κρεῖττον, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ὅς ἐστι πάντων ἄριστος.

204 Ἔφασαν δέ τινες, ὡς ἀνοίκειον ἦν ὀμνύναι· ὁ [128] ὅρκος γὰρ πίστεως ἕνεκα παραλαμβάνεται, | πιστὸς δὲ μόνος ὁ θεὸς καὶ εἴ τις θεῷ φίλος, καθάπερ

[a] A Fragment of Euripides.

[b] By οὗ ἕνεκα LXX. means "because." Philo ignores this un-Attic idiom. *Cf.* 209.

draw forth free and manly reasonings, and accordingly a vast mass of painful experiences pours in upon him through the senses. The man of knowledge on the contrary, stepping out like an athlete to meet all grievous things with strength and robust vigour, blows a counter-blast to them, so that he is not wounded by them, but regards each of them with absolute indifference; and, methinks, he might with youthful spirit address to grief the proud vaunt in the play, saying:

Burn me, consume my flesh, drink my dark blood,
Take fill of me; for sooner shall the stars
Go 'neath the earth, and earth go up to sky,
Than thou shalt from these lips hear fawning word.[a]

LXXII. Now as for sense God has appointed all woeful things in larger measure, so on the earnest soul has He bestowed without stint an abundance of good things. For example in the case of perfect Abraham He speaks in this wise: "By Myself I have sworn, saith the Lord, for Whose sake[b] thou hast done this thing, and on My account hast not spared thy son, thine only son, verily blessing will I bless thee, and multiplying will I multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven and as the sand which is by the sea shore" (Gen. xxii. 16 f.). Good is it both that He confirmed the promise by an oath, and that He did so by an oath befitting God; you mark that God swears not by some other thing, for nothing is higher than He, but by Himself, who is best of all things.

Some have said, that it was inappropriate for Him to swear; for an oath is added to assist faith, and only God and one who is God's friend is faithful,

Μωυσῆς λέγεται, "πιστὸς ἐν παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ" γεγενῆσθαι (Num. xii. 7). ἄλλως τε καὶ οἱ λόγοι τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσιν ὅρκοι καὶ νόμοι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θεσμοὶ ἱεροπρεπέστατοι· τεκμήριον δὲ τῆς ἰσχυρότητος αὐτοῦ, ὃ ἂν εἴπῃ γίνεται, ὅπερ ἦν οἰκειότατον ὅρκῳ· ὥστ' ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη λέγειν, ὅτι πάντες οἱ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγοι εἰσὶν ὅρκοι βεβαι-
205 ούμενοι ἔργων ἀποτελέσμασι. LXXIII. φασί γε μὴν ὅρκον εἶναι μαρτυρίαν θεοῦ περὶ πράγματος ἀμφισβητουμένου· εἰ δὴ ὄμνυσιν ὁ θεός, ἑαυτῷ μαρτυρεῖ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἄτοπον, ἕτερον γὰρ δεῖ εἶναι τὸν ποιούμενον τὴν μαρτυρίαν καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ οὗ γίνεται. τί οὖν λεκτέον; πρῶτον μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπαίτιον ἑαυτῷ μαρτυρεῖν τὸν θεόν· τίς γὰρ ἂν ἄλλος γένοιτο ἱκανὸς αὐτῷ μαρτυρῆσαι; ἔπειτα πάντ' ἐστὶν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ τὰ τιμιώτατα, συγγενὴς οἰκεῖος φίλος ἀρετὴ εὐδαιμονία μακαριότης ἐπιστήμη σύνεσις ἀρχὴ τέλος ὅλον πᾶν δικαστὴς
206 γνώμη βουλὴ νόμος πρᾶξις ἡγεμονία. ἄλλως τε ἂν τὸ "κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ ὤμοσα" ὃν χρὴ τρόπον ἐκδεξώμεθα, παυσόμεθα τῆς ἄγαν σοφιστείας. μήποτ' οὖν ἐστι τοιοῦτον· οὐδὲν τῶν δυναμένων πιστοῦν δύναται παγίως περὶ θεοῦ πιστῶσαι, οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἔδειξεν αὐτοῦ τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλ' ἀόρατον αὐτὴν παντὶ τῷ γένει παρεσκεύασε· τίς ἂν ἰσχύσαι ἢ ὅτι ἀσώματον ἢ ὅτι σῶμα ἢ ὅτι ποιὸν ἢ ὅτι ἄποιον τὸ αἴτιον εἰπεῖν ἢ συνόλως περὶ οὐσίας ἢ ποιότητος ἢ σχέσεως ἢ κινήσεως αὐτοῦ βεβαίως ἀποφήνασθαι; ἀλλὰ περί γε ἑαυτοῦ μόνος ἰσχυ-

[a] See App. p. 483.

even as Moses is said to have been found "faithful in all His house" (Numb. xii. 7). Moreover, the very words of God are oaths and laws of God and most sacred ordinances ; and a proof of His sure strength is that whatever He saith cometh to pass, and this is specially characteristic of an oath. It would seem to be a corollary from this that all God's words are oaths receiving confirmation by accomplishment in act. LXXIII. They say indeed that an oath is a calling God to witness to a point which is disputed ; so if it is God that swears, He bears witness to Himself, which is absurd, for he that bears the witness must needs be a different person from him on whose behalf it is borne. What then must we say ? First that there is nothing amiss in God bearing witness to Himself. For who else would be capable of bearing witness to Him ? Secondly He Himself is to Himself all that is most precious, kinsman, intimate, friend, virtue, happiness, blessedness, knowledge, understanding, beginning, end, whole, everything, judge, decision, counsel, law, process, sovereignty. Besides if we once take "by Myself have I sworn" in the right way, we shall quit this excessive quibbling. Probably then the truth of the matter is something like this. Nothing that can give assurance can give positive assurance touching God, for to none has He shown His nature, but He has rendered it invisible to our whole race. Who can assert of the First Cause either that It is without body or that It is a body, that It is of such a kind or that It is of no kind ?[a] In a word who can make any positive assertion concerning His essence or quality or state or movement ? Nay He alone shall affirm anything regarding Himself since

ῥιεῖται, ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνος ἀψευδῶς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν
207 ἠκρίβωσε. βεβαιωτὴς οὖν ἰσχυρότατος ἑαυτοῦ τὸ
πρῶτον, ἔπειτα καὶ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ μόνος ὁ
θεός, ὥστ' εἰκότως ὤμνυε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ πιστού-
μενος ἑαυτόν, ὃ μὴ δυνατὸν ἦν ἄλλῳ.
διὸ καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ἂν νομισθεῖεν οἱ φάσκοντες ὀμνύναι
κατὰ θεοῦ· εἰκότως γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὄμνυσι κατ' αὐτοῦ,
ὅτι γε οὐ περὶ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ διαγνῶναι
δύναται, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητόν, ἐὰν <κατὰ> τοῦ ὀνόματος
αὐτοῦ δυνηθῶμεν, ὅπερ ἦν τοῦ ἑρμηνέως λόγου·
οὗτος γὰρ ἡμῶν τῶν ἀτελῶν ἂν εἴη θεός, τῶν δὲ
208 σοφῶν καὶ τελείων ὁ πρῶτος. καὶ Μωυσῆς μέντοι
τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσας τοῦ ἀγενήτου φησίν·
"καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ὀμῇ" (Deut. vi. 13),
οὐχὶ αὐτῷ· ἱκανὸν γὰρ τῷ γενητῷ πιστοῦσθαι καὶ
μαρτυρεῖσθαι λόγῳ θείῳ· ὁ δὲ θεὸς αὐτοῦ πίστις
[129] ἔστω καὶ μαρτυρία | βεβαιοτάτη.
209 LXXIV. Τὸ δὲ "οὗ εἵνεκα ἐποίησας τὸ ῥῆμα
τοῦτο" (Gen. xxii. 16) σύμβολόν ἐστιν εὐσεβείας·
τὸ γὰρ ἕνεκα θεοῦ μόνου πάντα πράττειν εὐσεβές.
παρὸ καὶ ἀφειδοῦμεν τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ τέκνου τῆς
ἀρετῆς, τοῦ εὐδαιμονῆσαι, παραχωροῦντες αὐτὸ
τῷ δημιουργῷ, ἄξιον τὸ γέννημα κρίνοντες κτῆμα
θεοῦ νομίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ γενητοῦ τινος. εὖ δὲ
210 τὸ φάναι "εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω" (ib. 17)· πολλὰ
γὰρ εὐλόγιστα δρῶσί τινες, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπ' εὐλογίαις,

He alone has unerringly exact knowledge of His own nature. God alone therefore is the strongest security first for Himself, and in the next place for His deeds also, so that He naturally swore by Himself when giving assurance as to Himself, a thing impossible for another than He. It follows that men who say that they swear by God should be considered actually impious; for naturally no one swears by Him, seeing that he is unable to possess knowledge regarding His nature. No, we may be content if we are able to swear by His Name, which means (as we have seen) the interpreting word. For this must be God for us the imperfect folk, but, as for the wise and perfect, the primal Being is their God. Moses too, let us observe, filled with wonder at the transcendency of the Uncreate, says, "and thou shalt swear by His Name" (Deut. vi. 13), not "by Him," for it is enough for the created being that he should be accredited and have witness borne to him by the Divine word: but let God be His own most sure guarantee and evidence.

LXXIV. The words, "for Whose sake thou hast done this thing" (Gen. xxii. 16) are a token of piety; for it is pious to do all things for the sake of God only. That is why we are unsparing of that only child of virtue, even the happiness we have attained, surrendering it to the Creator, deeming such offspring meet to be reckoned a possession of God, but not of any created being. Beautifully significant are the words, "blessing I will bless" (*ibid.* 17); for there are some people who do many things that are of the nature of benedictions, when their underlying character is not fraught with

ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ φαῦλος ἔνια δρᾷ τῶν καθηκόντων οὐκ ἀφ' ἕξεως καθηκούσης, καὶ ὁ μεθύων μέντοι καὶ μεμηνὼς ἔστιν ὅτε νηφάλια φθέγγεταί τε καὶ ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ νηφούσης διανοίας, καὶ οἱ ἔτι κομιδῇ νήπιοι παῖδες οὐκ ἀπὸ λογικῆς ἕξεως —οὔπω γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἡ φύσις λογικοὺς πεπαίδευκε —πολλὰ πράττουσι καὶ λέγουσιν ὧν οἱ λογικοί. βούλεται δὲ ὁ νομοθέτης τὸν σοφὸν μὴ σχετικῶς καὶ εὐαλώτως καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐκ τύχης εὐλόγιστον δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ ἕξεως καὶ διαθέσεως εὐλογίστου.

211 LXXV. Οὐκ ἐξήρκεσεν οὖν τῇ βαρυδαίμονι αἰσθήσει χρῆσθαι πλουσίως ταῖς λύπαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ "τῷ στεναγμῷ." ἔστι δὲ στεναγμὸς σφοδρὰ καὶ ἐπιτεταμένη λύπη· πολλάκις γὰρ ἀλγοῦμεν οὐχὶ στένοντες· ὅταν δ' ἐπιστένωμεν, ἀνιαρῶς καὶ πάνυ ὀμβρηρῶς χρώμεθα ταῖς λύπαις. τὸ δὲ στένειν ἐστὶ διττόν· ἓν μὲν ὃ γίνεται περὶ τοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦντας καὶ ὀρεγομένους τῶν ἀδικιῶν καὶ μὴ τυγχάνοντας, ὃ δὴ καὶ φαῦλόν ἐστιν· ἕτερον δὲ ὃ γίνεται περὶ τοὺς μετανοοῦντας καὶ ἀχθομένους ἐπὶ τῇ πάλαι τροπῇ καὶ λέγοντας Κακοδαίμονες ἡμεῖς, ὅσον ἄρα χρόνον ἐλελήθειμεν νοσοῦντες ἀφροσύνης νόσον καὶ ἀνοίας καὶ ἀδικίας
212 ἐπιτηδευμάτων. τοῦτο δ' οὐ γίνεται, ἐὰν μὴ τελευτήσῃ καὶ ἀποθάνῃ ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς

[a] οὐκ ἐπ' εὐλογίαις. *Cf. De Vita Mosis*, i. 283, 2 Cor. ix. 6. In all three places the preposition probably marks the *ground* or *motive*. This is made clear here by ἀπό ('from') taking the place of ἐπί in each of the examples which follow. God *meant* blessing not cursing when He suffered Balaam to go to Balak. The giver in *2* Corinthians gives *out of an overflowing heart*. Those here in view might seem, if

blessing.[a] Why, even the bad man does some things that it is his duty to do without acting from a dutiful character.[b] Yes, and the drunken man and the madman now and then utter sober words and do sober deeds, but not from a sober mind; and those who are still quite young children not from a fixedly rational state (for nature has not yet trained them to be rational), do and say many things that rational men do and say. But the lawgiver wishes the wise man to be accounted a man of benediction not as the outcome of a passing mood, or of being easily led by others, or as though by chance, but as the result of a fixed state and disposition charged with benediction.

LXXV. To return to our text. It was not enough for ill-starred sense to experience sorrows in large measure, it must indulge in "groaning" also. Groaning is intense and excessive sorrow. For we often grieve without groaning; but when we groan over them, we let our sorrows bring on us a very storm of trouble and distress. Now groaning is of two kinds. One kind is found in men who desire and long for opportunities of wrongdoing and cannot get them, and this a bad kind. Another kind is that which is seen in those who repent and are vexed over their defection in former days and cry "Hapless we, how long a time had we, as is now evident, been ill all unaware of it with the illness of folly and senselessness and unrighteousness in our conduct." But this does not come about unless the king of Egypt, the godless and pleasure-loving

judged by isolated acts, to be *drawing upon a rich store of blessings*, but are not really doing so

[b] See App. pp. 483, 484.

τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ὁ ἄθεος καὶ φιλήδονος τρόπος· "μετὰ γὰρ τὰς ἡμέρας τὰς πολλὰς ἐκείνας ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Αἰγύπτου"· εἶτ' εὐθὺς ἀποθανούσης κακίας στενάζει ὁ ὁρῶν τὸν θεὸν [καὶ] τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τροπήν, "κατεστέναξαν γὰρ οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ τῶν σωματικῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτιακῶν ἔργων" (Exod. ii. 23)· ἐπεὶ ζῶν γε ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ φιλήδονος τρόπος ἐν ἡμῖν γεγηθέναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναπείθει ἐφ' οἷς ἁμαρτάνει, ὅταν δὲ
213 τελευτήσῃ, στένει. διὸ καὶ ἐκβοᾷ πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην ἱκετεύουσα, μηκέτι τραπῆναι μηδὲ ἀτελῆ τὴν τελείωσιν λαβεῖν· πολλαῖς γὰρ ψυχαῖς μετανοίᾳ χρῆσθαι βουληθείσαις οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ὁ θεός, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὑπὸ παλιρροίας εἰς τοὔμπαλιν ἀνεχώρησαν
[130] τρόπον τινὰ τῆς Λὼτ | γυναικὸς (Gen. xix. 26) τῆς λιθουμένης διὰ τὸ Σοδόμων ἐρᾶν καὶ εἰς τὰς κατεστραμμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσεις ἀνατρέχειν.

214 LXXVI. Ἀλλὰ νυνί γέ φησιν ὅτι "ἀνέβη ἡ βοὴ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν θεόν" (Exod. ii. 23), μαρτυρῶν τῇ τοῦ ὄντος χάριτι· εἰ γὰρ μὴ δυνατῶς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐκάλεσε τὸν ἱκέτην λόγον, οὐκ ἂν ἀνέβη, τουτέστιν οὐκ ἂν ἀνεβιβάσθη καὶ ηὐξήθη καὶ μετεωρεῖν ἤρξατο φυγὼν τὴν ταπεινότητα τῶν γηίνων. διὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς φησιν· "ἰδοὺ κραυγὴ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἥκει πρὸς μέ" (Exod.
215 iii. 9). πάνυ καλῶς τὸ φθάσαι μέχρι θεοῦ τὴν ἱκεσίαν· οὐκ ἂν δὲ ἔφθασεν, εἰ μὴ ὁ καλῶν χρηστὸς ἦν. ἐνίαις δὲ ψυχαῖς προαπαντᾷ· "ἥξω πρὸς σὲ καὶ εὐλογήσω σε" (Exod. xx. 24). ὁρᾷς ὅση τοῦ αἰτίου ἡ χάρις φθάνοντος τὴν ἡμετέραν μέλ-

disposition, shall have met his end and died out of the soul: "for after those many days the king of Egypt died." Then straightway when wickedness has died, he that seeth God groans over his own failure, "for the children of Israel groaned by reason of their material and Egyptian works" (Exod. ii. 23). For while the king and pleasure-loving temper is alive in us it induces the soul to rejoice over the sins it is committing, but when he has died, it groans. And thus it is that it cries out to the Master beseeching that it may turn no more nor receive its consummation imperfectly. For many souls have desired to repent and not been permitted by God to do so, but have gone away backward as though drawn by a change of current. This befell Lot's wife, who became stone owing to her being enamoured of Sodom and reverting to the characters that had been overthrown by God.

LXXVI. Now, however, he says "their cry ascended to God" (Exod. ii. 23), bearing witness by so saying to the grace of the existent One; for had He not powerfully called to Himself the suppliant word, it would not have ascended, that is, it would not have been caused to mount, and have grown in volume and begun to soar on high after escaping from the baseness of the things of the earth. Wherefore in the sequel He says, "Behold, the cry of the children of Israel hath come to Me" (Exod. iii. 9). Very beautiful is it that the entreaty reached as far as God: but it would not have reached so far, but for the kindness of Him that called. Some souls He anticipates and goes forth to meet: "I will come to thee and will bless thee" (Exod. xx. 24). Thou seest how great is the grace of the First Cause, as He is

λησιν καὶ προαπαντῶντος εἰς εὐεργεσίαν παντελῆ τῆς ψυχῆς. καὶ χρησμός ἐστι δογματικὸς τὸ λεγόμενον· ἐὰν γὰρ ἔλθῃ εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν ἔννοια θεοῦ, εὐθὺς εὐλογιστεῖ τε καὶ πάσας τὰς νόσους
216 αὐτῆς ἰᾶται. ἡ δέ γε αἴσθησις αἰεὶ λυπεῖται καὶ στένει καὶ τίκτει μετ' ὀδύνης καὶ ἀλγηδόνων ἀνηκέστων τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι, ὡς καὶ αὐτός φησιν· "ἐν λύπαις τέξῃ τέκνα" (Gen. iii. 16)· τίκτει δὲ ἡ μὲν ὅρασις τὸ ὁρᾶν, ἡ δὲ ἀκοὴ τὸ ἀκούειν, ἡ δὲ γεῦσις τὸ γεύεσθαι, καὶ συνόλως ἡ αἴσθησις τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄνευ χαλεπῆς ἀνίας τῷ ἄφρονι ἕκαστον τούτων ποιεῖται, ἐπιλύπως γὰρ οὗτος καὶ ὁρᾷ καὶ ἀκούει καὶ γεύεται καὶ ὀσφραίνεται καὶ κοινῶς αἰσθάνεται.

217 LXXVII. Ἔμπαλιν δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν εὑρήσεις μετὰ χαρᾶς ὑπερβαλλούσης [καὶ] κυοφοροῦσαν καὶ τὸν σπουδαῖον σὺν γέλωτι καὶ εὐθυμίᾳ γεννῶντα καὶ τὸ γέννημα ἀμφοῖν αὐτὸ γέλωτ' ὄν. ὡς μὲν οὖν ὁ σοφὸς χαίρων ἀλλ' οὐ λυπούμενος γεννᾷ, μαρτυρήσει λέγων οὕτως ὁ θεῖος λόγος· "εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀβραάμ· Σάρα ἡ γυνή σου οὐ κληθήσεται Σάρα, ἀλλὰ Σάρρα αὐτῆς ἔσται τὸ ὄνομα· εὐλογήσω αὐτὴν καὶ δώσω σοι ἐξ αὐτῆς τέκνον" (Gen. xvii. 15, 16)· εἶτ' ἐπιλέγει· "καὶ ἔπεσεν Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ πρόσωπον καὶ ἐγέλασε καὶ εἶπεν Εἰ τῷ ἑκατονταετεῖ γενήσεται, καὶ ἡ Σάρρα
218 ἐνενήκοντα ἐτῶν οὖσα τέξεται;" (ib. 17) οὗτος μὲν δὴ φαίνεται γεγηθὼς καὶ γελῶν, ὅτι μέλλει γεννᾶν τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν, τὸν Ἰσαάκ· γελᾷ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ Σάρρα, μαρτυρήσει δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς λέγων ὧδε· "ἐξέλιπε Σάρρᾳ γίνεσθαι τὰ γυναικεῖα, καὶ ἐγέλασε τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ εἶπεν Οὔπω μοι γέγονε τὸ εὐ-

beforehand with our hesitation, and anticipates and meets us, bringing unlimited gain to the soul. And what is said is a divine intimation full of instruction. For if a thought of God come into the mind, He forthwith blesses it and heals all its sicknesses. Sense, however, is always sorrowing and groaning, and with pangs and incurable pain bringing forth perception, as God Himself says, " In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children " (Gen. iii. 16) ; sight brings forth seeing, the ear hearing, taste tasting, in a word sense perceiving : but not without sore distress to the foolish one does she do each of these things, for to such an one pain is caused as he sees and hears and tastes and smells and generally exercises any sense.

LXXVII. On the other hand, you will find virtue full of exceeding joy at her pregnancy, and the good man begetting with laughter and a glad heart, and the offspring of them both laughter itself. That the wise man begets with joy not sorrow, the Divine word shall testify in these words, " God said to Abraham, Sarai thy wife shall not be called Sarai, but Sarah shall be her name : I will bless her and will give thee a child of her " (Gen. xvii. 15 f.) ; then he says further, " And Abraham fell on his face and laughed and said, Shall he that is a hundred years old have a son, and shall Sarah who is ninety years old bear ? " (*ibid.* 17). Abraham evidently rejoices and laughs, because he is to beget Isaac (who is), Happiness ; and Sarah, who is Virtue, laughs also.[a] The same book shall witness to this when it says, " It ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women, and she laughed in her mind and said, Not

[a] See App. p. 484.

δαιμονεῖν ἕως τοῦ νῦν· ὁ δὲ κύριός μου" θεῖος λόγος "πρεσβύτερός ἐστιν" (Gen. xviii. 11, 12), ᾧ προσεῖναι τοῦτο ἀνάγκη καὶ πιστεύειν καλὸν ὑπισχνουμένῳ. καὶ τὸ γέννημα δ' ἐστὶ γέλως καὶ χαρά· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ ἑρμηνεύεται. |
[131] λυπείσθω τοιγαροῦν αἴσθησις, ἀρετὴ δ' αἰεὶ χαι-
219 ρέτω· καὶ γὰρ γεννηθέντος τοῦ εὐδαιμονεῖν φησι σεμνυνομένη· "γέλωτα ἐποίησέ μοι ὁ κύριος· ὃς γὰρ ἂν ἀκούσῃ, συγχαρεῖταί μοι" (Gen. xxi. 6). ἀναπετάσαντες οὖν ὦτα, ὦ μύσται, παραδέξασθε τελετὰς ἱερωτάτας· ὁ γέλως ἐστὶν ἡ χαρά, τὸ δὲ "ἐποίησεν" ἴσον τῷ ἐγέννησεν, ὥστ' εἶναι τὸ λεγόμενον τοιοῦτον· Ἰσαὰκ ἐγέννησεν ὁ κύριος· αὐτὸς γὰρ πατήρ ἐστι τῆς τελείας φύσεως, σπείρων ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ γεννῶν τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν.

220 LXXVIII. "Καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα σου" φησίν "ἡ ἀποστροφή σου" (Gen. iii. 16). δύο αἰσθήσεως ἄνδρες εἰσίν, ὁ μὲν νόμιμος, ὁ δὲ φθορεύς· ἀνδρὸς μὲν γὰρ <φθορέως> τρόπον τὸ μὲν ὁρατὸν κινεῖ τὴν ὅρασιν, ἡ δὲ φωνὴ τὴν ἀκοήν, ὁ δὲ χυλὸς τὴν γεῦσιν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον· ταῦτα δ' ἀποστρέφει καὶ καλεῖ τὴν ἄλογον αἴσθησιν πρὸς ἑαυτὰ καὶ κατακρατεῖ καὶ κυριεύει· τό τε γὰρ κάλλος τὴν ὅρασιν ἐδουλώσατο ὅ τε ἡδὺς χυλὸς τὴν γεῦσιν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον αἰσθητῶν τὴν
221 κατ' αὐτὸ αἴσθησιν· ἴδε γέ τοι τὸν λίχνον, ὡς δουλεύει ταῖς παρασκευαῖς τῶν ὅσα ὀψαρτυταὶ καὶ σιτοπόνοι τεχνιτεύουσι, καὶ τὸν σεσοβημένον περὶ μέλος, πῶς ἐπικρατεῖται ὑπὸ κιθάρας ἢ αὐλοῦ ἢ καὶ ᾄδειν ἐπισταμένου. τῇ δέ γε πρὸς τὸν νόμιμον ἄνδρα, τὸν νοῦν, ἀποστραφείσῃ μεγίστη ἐστὶν ὠφέλεια αἰσθήσει.

yet hath happiness befallen me till now but my Lord (the divine Word) is greater [a] (Gen. xviii. 11 f.), to whom this [b] must needs belong and whom I must believe when he promises good." Moreover, the offspring is laughter and joy, for that is what "Isaac" means. Let sense-perception therefore be sorrowful, but let virtue always rejoice: for again when Happiness has been born she says with pride "the Lord hath made laughter for me; for whosoever shall hear of it will rejoice with me" (Gen. xxi. 6). Therefore, O ye initiate, open your ears wide and take in holiest teachings. The "laughter" is joy, and "made" is equivalent to "beget," so that what is said is of this kind, the Lord begat Isaac; for He is Himself Father of the perfect nature, sowing and begetting happiness in men's souls.

LXXVIII. "And to thy husband," He says, "shall be thy resort" (Gen. iii. 16). Sense has two husbands, the one lawful, the other a seducer. After the fashion of a seducing husband the thing seen acts on the sight, the sound on the hearing, the flavour on the palate, and so with the rest one by one. And these turn away and invite to themselves the irrational sense and get the mastery of it and domineer over it. Beauty enslaves the sight, the pleasant savour the palate, and the several objects of sense enslave the sense corresponding to them. Look at that glutton, what a slave he is to the dishes prepared by the skill of cooks and confectioners. Mark that one wild with excitement over music, how he is swayed and held spellbound by harp or flute or it may be by a good singer. But to sense that has been turned from all else to Mind, her lawful husband, vast benefit befalls.

[a] Literally, "elder." [b] *i.e.*, happiness.

222 LXXIX. Ἴδωμεν οὖν ἑξῆς, τίνα καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ
τοῦ νοῦ διεξέρχεται παρὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον κινου-
μένου. "τῷ δὲ Ἀδὰμ εἶπεν ὁ θεός Ὅτι ἤκουσας
τῆς φωνῆς τῆς γυναικός σου καὶ ἔφαγες ἀπὸ τοῦ
ξύλου, οὗ ἐνετειλάμην σοι μὴ φαγεῖν, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
ἔφαγες, ἐπικατάρατος ἡ γῆ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου"
(Gen. iii. 17). ἀλυσιτελέστατόν ἐστιν ἀκούειν
αἰσθήσεως νοῦν, ἀλλὰ μὴ αἴσθησιν νοῦ· ἀεὶ γὰρ
τὸ κρεῖττον ἄρχειν, τὸ δὲ χεῖρον ἄρχεσθαι δεῖ·
223 νοῦς δὲ κρεῖττον αἰσθήσεως. ὥσπερ οὖν ἄρχοντος
μὲν ἡνιόχου καὶ ταῖς ἡνίαις τὰ ζῷα ἄγοντος ᾗ
βούλεται ἄγεται τὸ ἅρμα, ἀφηνιασάντων δὲ ἐκείνων
καὶ κρατησάντων ὅ τε ἡνίοχος κατεσύρη πολλάκις
τά τε ζῷα ἔστιν ὅτε τῇ ῥύμῃ τῆς φορᾶς εἰς βόθρον
κατηνέχθη πλημμελῶς τε πάντα φέρεται, καὶ ναῦς
εὐθυδρομεῖ μέν, ἡνίκα τῶν οἰάκων λαβόμενος ὁ
κυβερνήτης ἀκολούθως πηδαλιουχεῖ, περιτρέπεται
δ' ὅτε πνεύματος ἐναντίου περιπνεύσαντος τῇ
224 θαλάττῃ ὁ κλύδων ἐνῴκησεν, οὕτως ἐπειδὰν μὲν
[132] ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡνίοχος ἢ κυβερνήτης | ὁ νοῦς ἄρχῃ
τοῦ ζῴου ὅλου καθάπερ ἡγεμὼν πόλεως, εὐθύνεται
ὁ βίος, ὅταν δὲ ἡ ἄλογος αἴσθησις φέρηται τὰ
πρωτεῖα, σύγχυσις καταλαμβάνει δεινή, οἷα δούλων
δεσπόταις ἐπιτεθειμένων· τότε γάρ, εἰ δεῖ τἀληθὲς
εἰπεῖν, ἐμπίπραται φλεγόμενος ὁ νοῦς, τῶν αἰσθή-
σεων τὴν φλόγα ἐγειρουσῶν τὰ αἰσθητὰ ὑπο-
βεβλημένων. LXXX. καὶ Μωυσῆς μέντοι δηλοῖ
περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐμπρήσεως, ἣ γίνεται διὰ τῶν
225 αἰσθήσεων, τοῦ νοῦ, ὅταν λέγῃ· "καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες
ἔτι προσεξέκαυσαν πῦρ ἐν Μωάβ"—ἑρμηνεύεται γὰρ

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a Heb. "for thy sake."

LXXIX. Let us observe in the next place how he discourses respecting Mind itself when acted upon in violation of the right principle. "To Adam God said, 'Because thou hast listened to the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee not to eat [of it thou hast eaten], cursed is the ground in respect of thy labours[a]'" (Gen. iii. 17). Most profitless is it that Mind should listen to Sense-perception, and not Sense-perception to Mind: for it is always right that the superior should rule and the inferior be ruled; and Mind is superior to Sense-perception. When the charioteer is in command and guides the horses with the reins, the chariot goes the way he wishes, but if the horses have become unruly and got the upper hand, it has often happened that the charioteer has been dragged down and that the horses have been precipitated into a ditch by the violence of their motion, and that there is a general disaster. A ship, again, keeps to her straight course, when the helmsman grasping the tiller steers accordingly, but capsizes when a contrary wind has sprung up over the sea, and the surge has settled in it. Just so, when Mind, the charioteer or helmsman of the soul, rules the whole living being as a governor does a city, the life holds a straight course, but when irrational sense gains the chief place, a terrible confusion overtakes it, just as when slaves have risen against masters: for then, in very deed, the mind is set on fire and is all ablaze, and that fire is kindled by the objects of sense which Sense-perception supplies. LXXX. Moses, moreover, gives intimations of such a conflagration of the mind as this, occasioned by the senses, when he says: "And the women kindled yet further a fire in Moab."

“ἐκ πατρός,” ὅ τε πατὴρ ἡμῶν ὁ νοῦς ἐστι—· “τότε” γάρ φησιν “ἐροῦσιν οἱ αἰνιγματισταί Ἔλθετε εἰς Ἐσεβών, ἵνα οἰκοδομηθῇ καὶ κατασκευασθῇ πόλις Σηών. ὅτι πῦρ ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ Ἐσεβών, φλὸξ ἐκ πόλεως Σηών, καὶ κατέφαγεν ἕως Μωὰβ καὶ κατέπιε στήλας Ἀρνών. οὐαί σοι, Μωάβ· ἀπώλου, λαὸς Χαμώς. ἀπεδόθησαν <οἱ> υἱοὶ αὐτῶν σῴζεσθαι, καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες αὐτῶν αἰχμάλωτοι τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἀμορραίων Σηών, καὶ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτῶν ἀπολεῖται Ἐσεβὼν ἕως Δεβών, καὶ <αἱ> γυναῖκες ἔτι προσεξέκαυσαν πῦρ ἐπὶ
226 Μωάβ” (Num. xxi. 27-30). Ἐσεβὼν ἑρμηνεύεται λογισμοί· οὗτοι δ᾿ εἰσὶν αἰνίγματα ἀσαφείας γέμοντα. ἴδε λογισμὸν ἰατροῦ· κενώσω τὸν κάμνοντα, θρέψω, φαρμάκοις ἰάσομαι <καὶ> διαίτῃ, τεμῶ, καύσω· ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἡ φύσις καὶ ἄνευ τούτων ἰάσατο καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἀπώλεσεν, ὡς τοὺς ἰατροῦ πάντας ἐπιλογισμοὺς ἐνύπνια εὑρεθῆναι ἀσαφείας καὶ αἰνιγμάτων πλήρη. πάλιν ὁ
227 γεωπόνος φησί· σπέρματα βαλοῦμαι, φυτεύσω, αὐξήσει τὰ φυτά, καρποὺς ταῦτα οἴσει, οἳ οὐ μόνον εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἔσονται χρήσιμοι τὴν ἀναγκαίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς περιουσίαν ἀρκέσουσιν· εἶτ᾿ ἐξαίφνης φλὸξ ἢ ζάλη ἢ ἐπομβρίαι συνεχεῖς διέφθειραν πάντα· ἔστι δ᾿ ὅτε τὰ μὲν ἐτελεσιουργήθη, ὁ δὲ ταῦτα λογισάμενος οὐκ ὤνατο, ἀλλὰ προαπέθανε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν ποιηθέντων καρποῖς μάτην ἀπόλαυσιν ἐμαντεύσατο.

For "Moab" means "out of a father," and our father is the Mind. His words are, "Then shall they that propound riddles say, Come to Heshbon that it may be built, and that the city of Sihon may be constructed. For a fire hath gone forth from Heshbon and a flame from the city of Sihon, and it devoured as far as Moab and drank up the boundaries of Arnon. Woe to thee, Moab, thou art undone, O people of Chemosh. Their sons were given up as fugitives,[a] and their daughters as prisoners of war to Sihon, king of the Amorites, and their seed shall perish, Heshbon unto Dibon, and their women yet further kindled a fire against Moab" (Numb. xxi. 27-30). "Heshbon" means "reasonings": and "reasonings" are riddles full of obscurity. Look at a doctor's reasonings: "I will purge the patient, I will feed him up, I will prescribe medicines and put him on a diet that will make him well, I will operate, I will cauterize." But many a time has nature either brought recovery without these means being used, or brought death when these have been resorted to, proving all the doctor's calculations to be vain dreams, nothing but guesswork in the dark. Again, the farmer says, "I will sow, I will plant, the plants will grow, seeds and plants will yield crops, not only useful as affording food that we cannot do without, but so abundant as to give us enough and to spare." Then all of a sudden a fire, or a storm, or persistent rain spoils everything. Sometimes all that he had reckoned on comes to pass, but the reckoner dies first without having had the benefits of them, and his expectation of enjoying the fruits of his toil proves a vain one.

[a] Literally, "to save themselves" (by flight).

228 LXXXI. Ἄριστον οὖν τῷ θεῷ πεπιστευκέναι καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἀσαφέσι λογισμοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀβεβαίοις εἰκασίαις· "Ἀβραάμ γέ τοι ἐπίστευσε τῷ θεῷ, καὶ δίκαιος ἐνομίσθη" (Gen. xv. 6)· καὶ Μωυσῆς ἄρχει μαρτυρούμενος ὅτι ἐστὶ "πιστὸς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ" (Num. xii. 7). ἐὰν δὲ ἀποπιστεύσωμεν τοῖς ἰδίοις λογισμοῖς, κατασκευάσομεν καὶ οἰκοδομήσομεν τὴν πόλιν τοῦ διαφθείροντος τὴν ἀλήθειαν νοῦ· Σηὼν γὰρ ἑρμηνεύεται διαφθείρων.
229 παρὸ καὶ ἀναστάς, παρ' ᾧ ἦν ἐνύπνια, εὗρεν, ὅτι
[133] αἱ κινήσεις | ἅπασαι καὶ αἱ διατάσεις τοῦ ἄφρονός εἰσιν ἐνύπνια ἀληθείας ἀμέτοχα—αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ἐνύπνιον εὑρέθη—, ὅτι ἀληθὲς μέν ἐστι δόγμα τὸ πιστεύειν θεῷ, ψεῦδος δὲ τὸ πιστεύειν τοῖς κενοῖς λογισμοῖς. ἄλογος δὲ ὁρμὴ ἐξέρχεται καὶ φοιτᾷ ἀφ' ἑκατέρων τῶν τε λογισμῶν καὶ τοῦ νοῦ τοῦ διαφθείροντος τὴν ἀλήθειαν· διὸ καί φησιν, ὅτι "πῦρ ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ Ἐσεβών, φλὸξ ἐκ πόλεως Σηών" (Num. xxi. 28)· οὕτως γὰρ ἄλογον τὸ πιστεύειν ἢ λογισμοῖς πιθανοῖς ἢ νῷ διαφθείροντι
230 τὸ ἀληθές. LXXXII. "κατεσθίει γέ τοι καὶ ἕως Μωάβ," τουτέστιν ἕως τοῦ νοῦ· τίνα γὰρ ἄλλον ἢ τὸν ἄθλιον νοῦν ἡ ψευδὴς δόξα ἀπατᾷ; κατεσθίει καὶ βιβρώσκει καὶ μέντοι καὶ καταπίνει τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ στήλας, τουτέστι τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐνθυμήματα, ἃ καθάπερ ἐν στήλῃ τετύπωται καὶ ἐγκεχάρακται. Ἀρνὼν δ' εἰσὶν αἱ στῆλαι, ὅπερ ἑρμηνεύεται "φῶς αὐτῶν," ἐπεὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
231 ἕκαστον ἐν λογισμῷ σαφηνίζεται. ἄρχεται μὲν οὖν θρηνεῖν τὸν αὐθάδη καὶ φίλαυτον νοῦν οὕτως· "οὐαί σοι, Μωάβ, ἀπώλου"· εἰ γὰρ αἰνίγμασι προσέχεις τοῖς κατὰ τὴν τῶν εἰκότων ἐπιβολήν,

LXXXI. So then it is best to trust God and not our dim reasonings and insecure conjectures: "Abraham believed God and was held to be righteous" (Gen. xv. 6); and the precedence which Moses takes is testified to by the words he is "faithful[a] in all My house" (Numb. xii. 7). But if we repose our trust in our own reasonings, we shall construct and build up the city of Mind that corrupts the truth: for "Sihon" means "corrupting." Accordingly the dreamer finds on rising up that all the movements and exertions of the foolish man are dreams void of reality. Yea Mind itself turned out to be a dream. And this is so, because to trust God is a true teaching, but to trust our vain reasonings is a lie. An irrational impulse issues forth and goes its rounds, both from our reasonings and from Mind that corrupts the truth; wherefore also he says, "There went forth a fire from Heshbon, a flame from the city of Sihon" (Numb. xxi. 28). In this way trust in plausible reasonings or in Mind corrupting that which is true, is irrational. LXXXII. "It devours even as far as Moab," that is to say as far as Mind. For whom else does false opinion deceive but wretched Mind? It devours and eats up yea and swallows down the boundary-stones in it, that is, each particular thought or judgement, which are graved and chiselled as though upon a boundary-stone. The stones are Arnon, which means "their light," since it is in reasoning that each matter is elucidated. This is how he begins the dirge over the headstrong and selfish Mind: "Woe to thee, Moab: thou art undone"; for if thou heedest guesses made according to what is probable, thou

[a] Philo takes πιστός actively, "believing."

ἀπολώλεκας ἀλήθειαν. "λαὸς Χαμώς" τουτέστιν ὁ λαός σου καὶ ἡ δύναμις εὕρηται πηρὸς καὶ τετυφλωμένος· Χαμὼς γὰρ ἑρμηνεύεται "ὡς ψηλάφημα"· ἴδιον δὲ τοῦ μὴ ὁρῶντος τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο.
232 τούτοις οἱ μὲν υἱοὶ <οἱ> κατὰ μέρος λογισμοὶ φυγάδες, αἱ δὲ γνῶμαι θυγατέρων ἔχουσαι δύναμιν αἰχμάλωτοι τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἀμορραίων, τουτέστι τῷ σοφιστῇ λαλούντων· οἱ γὰρ Ἀμορραῖοι ἑρμηνεύονται λαλοῦντες, τοῦ γεγωνότος λόγου σύμβολον ὄντες· ὁ δὲ τούτων ἡγεμὼν ὁ σοφιστής ἐστι καὶ δεινὸς λόγων ἀνερευνᾶν τέχνας, ὑφ' οὗ κατασοφίζονται οἱ τὸν ὅρον τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπερ-
233 βαίνοντες. LXXXIII. Σηὼν οὖν ὁ διαφθείρων τὸν ὑγιῆ κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἀπολεῖται καὶ Ἐσεβὼν τὰ αἰνίγματα τὰ σοφιστικὰ ἕως Δεβών, ὃ καλεῖται δικασμός· πάνυ προσφυῶς· τὰ γὰρ εἰκότα καὶ πιθανὰ οὐκ ἔχει περὶ ἀληθείας ἐπιστήμην, ἀλλὰ δίκην καὶ ἀμφισβήτησιν καὶ ἐριστικὴν ἅμιλλαν καὶ φιλονεικίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα.

234 Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξήρκεσε τῷ νῷ τὰς ἰδίας καὶ νοητὰς ἔχειν κῆρας, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες προσεξέκαυσαν πῦρ, αἱ αἰσθήσεις, πυρκαϊὰν πολλὴν ἐπ' αὐτόν. ἴδε μέντοι τὸ λεγόμενον οἷόν ἐστι. πολλάκις νύκτωρ οὐδεμιᾷ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐνεργοῦντες ἀτόπους περὶ πολλῶν καὶ διαφερόντων λαμβάνομεν
[134] | ἐννοίας, τῆς ψυχῆς ἀεικινήτου ὑπαρχούσης καὶ μυρίας τροπὰς ἐνδεχομένης. ἣν οὖν ἱκανὰ πρὸς

hast lost truth. "The people of Chemosh," that is thy people and its power has been found to be maimed and blinded; for "Chemosh" means "as a groping," and groping is characteristic of one who cannot see. These find their sons, each particular reasoning, fugitives, while their judgements, corresponding to daughters, are captives of war to the king of the Amorites, that is "the lecturer of men fond of talking"; for the Amorites, if we translate the name, are "men fond of talking," being a figure of the uttered word, and the prince of these is the lecturer or sophist clever at searching after verbal artifices, and those who transgress the boundary of truth place themselves at the mercy of his quibbling. LXXIII. Sihon, therefore, the corrupter of the healthy rule of the truth, "and his seed shall perish together with Heshbon" (that is) the quibbling riddles "as far as Dihon," a name given to going to law, and quite appropriately, for probabilities and plausible arguments involve no knowledge concerning truth, but trial and disputation and wrangling conflict and contentiousness and everything of that sort.

It was not, however, enough for Mind to have the troubles that are peculiar to it and belong to its own sphere, but over and above these the women, the senses, that is, lit a fire, a huge conflagration, to add to its disasters. Prythee see what I mean by this. It often happens in the night when we are actively employing no single one of our senses, that we entertain strange notions on many different subjects, for the soul is perpetually in movement and can turn ten thousand different ways. This being so, what it produces by itself would have been

διαφθορὰν αὐτῇ, ὅσα αὐτὴ ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἐγέννησε.
235 *νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὄχλος ἐπεισωδίασεν αὐτῇ κηρῶν ἀμήχανον πλῆθος, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὁρατῶν, τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ τῶν φωνῶν, εἶτα χυλῶν* <*καὶ*> *ἀτμῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὀσμήν· καὶ σχεδὸν ἡ ἀπ' αὐτῶν φλὸξ χαλεπώτερον τὴν ψυχὴν διατίθησι τῆς ἐγγινομένης ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς ἄνευ συμπαραλήψεως αἰσθητηρίων.*

236 LXXXIV. *Τούτων μία τῶν γυναικῶν ἐστιν ἡ Πεντεφρῆ τοῦ Φαραὼ ἀρχιμαγείρου* (Gen. xxxix. 1 ff.)· *ὃς πῶς ἔχει γυναῖκα εὐνοῦχος ὤν, ἐπισκεπτέον· τοῖς γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ νόμου πραγματευομένοις πρὸ ἀλληγορίας ἀκολουθήσει τὸ δοκοῦν ἀπορεῖσθαι· ὁ γὰρ εὐνοῦχος καὶ ἀρχιμάγειρος ὄντως νοῦς μὴ ταῖς ἁπλαῖς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς περιτταῖς χρώμενος ἡδοναῖς εὐνοῦχος κέκληται καὶ ἄγονος σοφίας, ὢν εὐνοῦχος οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ τοῦ σκεδαστοῦ τῶν καλῶν Φαραώ· ἐπεί τοι κατ' ἄλλον λόγον ἄριστον ἂν εἴη τὸ εὐνοῦχον γενέσθαι, εἰ δυνήσεται ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ*
237 *κακίαν ἐκφυγοῦσα ἀπομαθεῖν τὸ πάθος. διὸ καὶ Ἰωσὴφ ὁ ἐγκρατὴς τρόπος τῇ λεγούσῃ ἡδονῇ "Κοιμήθητι μετ' ἐμοῦ* (Gen. xxxix. 7) *καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὢν ἀνθρωποπάθησον καὶ ἀπόλαυσον τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον τερπνῶν" ἐναντιοῦται φάσκων· "ἁμαρτήσομαι εἰς τὸν θεὸν τὸν φιλάρετον, εἰ γενοίμην φιλήδονος· πονηρὸν γὰρ τοῦτ' ἔργον."*
238 LXXXV. *καὶ νῦν μὲν ἀκροβολίζεται, ἤδη δὲ καὶ καρτερῶς ἀπομάχεται, ὅταν εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τὸν ἑαυτῆς*

sufficient for its corruption. But as it is, the mob of the senses has introduced into it from outside an untold host of mischiefs, drawn partly from visible objects, partly from sounds, as well as from savours and scents that touch the sense of smell; and we may say that the flame arising from them affects the soul more disastrously than the flame that is kindled in it by the soul itself without calling in the organs of sense to assist it.

LXXXIV. One of these women is the wife of Potiphar, Pharaoh's head-cook (Gen. xxxix. 1 ff.). How, being a eunuch, he comes to have a wife, is a point to be considered: for those, who are occupied with the literal wording of the law rather than with its figurative interpretation, will find that it involves what appears to such a difficulty. For the Mind, that is really an eunuch and chief cook, dealing not in the simple pleasures only but in excessive ones also, deserves the title of eunuch as one who is incapable of begetting wisdom, seeing that he serves as eunuch none other than Pharaoh, the disperser of noble things. For you must bear in mind that from another point of view to become an eunuch would be a very good thing, if so our soul should be able to escape wickedness and unlearn passion. So Joseph too, the self-controlling character, when pleasure says to him "Sleep with me" (Gen. xxxix. 7) 'and being human indulge human passions and enjoy the delights that come in life's course,' refuses to comply with her saying, 'I shall be sinning against God the Lover of virtue, were I to show myself a lover of pleasure; for this is a wicked deed.' LXXXV. And now he is merely skirmishing, but before long he is stoutly fighting it out, when the

οἶκον ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ ἀναδραμοῦσα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῆς τόνους ἀποτάξηται τοῖς κατὰ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰ ἴδια ὡς ψυχῆς ἔργα ἐργάσηται· οὔτ' εἰς τὸν οἶκον Ἰωσὴφ *οὔτε* Πεντεφρῆ, *ἀλλ'* "*εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν*"—*καὶ οὐ προστίθησι τὴν τίνος, ἵνα σκεπτικῶς ἀλληγορῇς*—"*ποιεῖν τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ*" (Gen.
239 xxxix. 11). *ἡ μὲν οὖν οἰκία ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχή, εἰς ἣν ἀνατρέχει καταλιπὼν τὰ ἐκτός, ἵνα τὸ λεγόμενον ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ γένηται· τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἐγκρατοῦς ἔργα μήποτε θεοῦ βουλήματί*[1] *ἐστι· καὶ γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἦν ἀλλότριος λογισμὸς τῶν εἰωθότων ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κατοικεῖν εἴσω. πλὴν οὐκ ἀφίσταται ζυγομαχοῦσα ἡ ἡδονή, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἱματίων λαβομένη φησί* "Κοιμήθητι *μετ' ἐμοῦ.*" *σκεπάσματα δὲ ὥσπερ σώματος τὰ ἐσθήματά ἐστιν, οὕτως τοῦ ζῴου σιτία καὶ ποτά. τοῦτο δή φησι· τί παραιτῇ*
240 *τὴν ἡδονήν, ἧς ἄνευ οὐ δύνασαι ζῆν; ἰδοὺ ἐκλαμβάνομαι τῶν ποιητικῶν αὐτῆς καί φημί σε μὴ ἂν δυνηθῆναι ὑποστῆναι, εἰ μή τινι τῶν ποιητικῶν χρήσαιο. τί οὖν ὁ ἐγκρατής; εἰ μέλλω, φησί,*
[135] *δουλεύειν πάθει διὰ τὴν ποιητικὴν | ὕλην, καὶ ἐξελεύσομαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πάθους ἔξω·* "*καταλιπὼν γὰρ τὰ ἱμάτια ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῆς ἔφυγε καὶ*
241 *ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω*" (Gen. xxxix. 12). LXXXVI. *τίς*

[1] ? *βουλήματα.* See note on translation.

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[a] *θεοῦ βουλήματι.* *Cf. De Posteritate Caini* 73 *τῷ μὴ κατὰ βούλημα τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ζῶντι, De Vita Mosis* 287 *οὐ συνᾴδει τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήματι.* The absence of an article in our passage is suspicious; and the dative is somewhat harsh with *ἐστι.* These difficulties would be got over, and a stronger sense gained, by reading *βουλήματά.* The man of self-control carries out in act purposes of God learned in

soul has entered into her own house, and falling back on her own energies has renounced all that is regulated by the body, and has set to work at business properly belonging to her inasmuch as they are activities of the soul. He goes neither into Joseph's house nor into that of Potiphar, but "into the house." He does not go on to say *whose* house, that you may think and interpret. He simply adds, "to do his business" (Gen. xxxix. 11). The house then is the soul, into which he retires, abandoning all that is outside, to the end that he may, as we say, get within himself. The "business" of the man of self-control is, we may take it, done by God's will[a]; for indeed, among all the reasonings wont to have their abode in the soul within, there was not one such uncongenial reasoning[b] found there. Meanwhile pleasure does not desist from struggling, but laying hold of his garments says "Sleep with me." As clothes are coverings of the body, so are food and drink of the living being. This is what she says, "Why do you decline pleasure, without which you cannot live? See, I seize and carry off part of what goes to produce her, and I declare that you would be unable to exist without using something productive of pleasure." What does the man of self-control do? "If," he says, "I am going to be a slave to passion for the sake of the matter that is productive of it, I will even leave passion behind and go forth outside"; for "leaving his garments in her hands he fled and went forth outside" (Gen. xxxix. 12). LXXXVI. "Who,"

communion with his own heart. The following sentence seems intended to justify so high a claim.

[b] See App. p. 484.

δὲ ἔνδον, φαίη τις ἄν, ἐξέρχεται; οὐ πολλοί; ἢ οὐ φυγόντες τινὲς τὸ ἱεροσυλεῖν ἐξ ἰδιωτικῆς ἔκλεψαν οἰκίας, καὶ οὐκ ὄντες πατροτύπται ἀλλότριον ὕβρισαν; οὗτοι ἐξέρχονται μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, εἰς ἕτερα δὲ εἰσέρχονται· τὸν δὲ τελείως ἐγκρατῆ δεῖ πάντα φεύγειν τὰ ἁμαρτήματα καὶ τὰ μείζω καὶ τὰ ἐλάττω καὶ ἐν μηδενὶ ἐξετάζεσθαι τὸ παράπαν.

242 Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἰωσὴφ -νέος τε γάρ ἐστι καὶ τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ σώματι οὐκ ἴσχυσεν ἀγωνίσασθαι καὶ νικῆσαι τὴν ἡδονήν—⌈καὶ ἀποδιδράσκει. Φινεὲς δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ ζηλώσας τὸν ὑπὲρ θεοῦ ζῆλον οὐ φυγῇ τὴν ἰδίαν σωτηρίαν πεπόρισται, ἀλλὰ τὸν "σειρομάστην" τουτέστι τὸν ζηλωτικὸν λόγον λαβὼν οὐκ ἀποστήσεται, πρὶν ἢ "ἐκκεντῆσαι τὴν Μαδιανῖτιν" τὴν ἐκκεκριμένην θείου χοροῦ φύσιν "διὰ τῆς μήτρας αὐτῆς" (Num. xxv. 7, 8), ἵνα μηδέποτε ἰσχύσῃ φυτὸν ἢ σπέρμα κακίας ἀνατεῖλαι· LXXXVII. οὗ χάριν ἐκκοπείσης ἀφροσύνης ἆθλον καὶ κλῆρον ἡ ψυχὴ λαμβάνει διττόν, εἰρήνην καὶ ἱερωσύνην (ib. xii. 13), συγγενεῖς καὶ ἀδελφὰς ἀρετάς.

243 Τοιαύτης μὲν οὖν γυναικὸς οὐκ ἀκουστέον, αἰσθήσεως μοχθηρᾶς λέγω, ἐπεὶ καὶ "τὰς μαίας εὖ ἐποίει θεός" (Exod. i. 20), ὅτι τῶν προστάξεων τοῦ σκεδαστοῦ Φαραὼ ἠλόγουν "τὰ ἄρρενα" τῆς ψυχῆς "ζῳογονοῦσαι," ἃ ἐκεῖνος ἤθελε διαφθείρειν τῆς θηλείας ὕλης ἐραστὴς ὤν, τὸ δ' αἴτιον ἀγνοῶν καὶ λέγων ὅτι "οὐκ οἶδα

244 αὐτόν" (Exod. v. 2). ἑτέρᾳ δὲ πειστέον γυναικί, οἵαν συμβέβηκε Σάρραν εἶναι, τὴν ἄρχουσαν ἀρετήν·

someone may ask, "goes forth *within*?" Do not many? Or have not some who have avoided the robbing of temples stolen goods from a private house, and some who have not been father-beaters, committed violence on a stranger? These people do indeed come forth from the sins mentioned, but they come into others. But he that exercises perfect self-control must shun all sins, both the greater and the lesser, and be found implicated in none whatever.

Joseph, however, being but a youth and lacking strength to contend with the Egyptian body and vanquish pleasure, runs away. But Phinehas the priest, who was zealous with the zeal for God, has secured his own safety, not by flight, but grasping the "spear," *i.e.* the spirit of zeal, he will not desist before he has "pierced the Midianitish woman," the nature that has been sifted out of the sacred company, "through her womb" (Numb. xxv. 7 f.), that she may never be able to cause plant or seed of wickedness to shoot up: LXXXVII. in recompense for this, for the cutting out of folly, the soul obtains a twofold portion as its reward, peace and priesthood (*ibid.* 12 f.), virtues as near of kin as sisters.

To such a woman, therefore, we must not hearken, wicked sense I mean. For "God dealt well with the midwives" (Exod. i. 20), because disregarding the injunctions of Pharaoh, the scatterer, they "saved alive" the male offspring of the soul which he wished to destroy; for, enamoured of what is material and female, he knows not the First Cause and says, "I know Him not" (Exod. v. 2). Quite a different woman claims our compliance, a woman such as Sarah is seen to have been, even paramount

καὶ πείθεταί γε ὁ σοφὸς Ἀβραὰμ αὐτῇ παραινούσῃ ἃ δεῖ· πρότερον μὲν γάρ, ὅτ᾿ οὔπω τέλειος ἐγεγένητο, ἀλλ᾿ ἔτι πρὶν μετονομασθῆναι τὰ μετέωρα ἐφιλοσόφει, ἐπισταμένη ὅτι οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο γεννᾶν ἐξ ἀρετῆς τελείας, συμβουλεύει ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης τουτέστι παιδείας τῆς ἐγκυκλίου παιδοποιεῖσθαι τῆς Ἄγαρ (Gen. xvi. 2 ff.), ὃ λέγεται παροίκησις· ὁ γὰρ μελετῶν ἐν ἀρετῇ τελείᾳ κατοικεῖν, πρὶν ἐγγραφῆναι τῇ πόλει αὐτῆς, τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις μαθήμασι παροικεῖ, ἵνα διὰ τούτων
245 πρὸς τελείαν ἀρετὴν ἀφέτως ὁρμήσῃ· ἔπειτα ὅταν ἴδῃ τετελειωμένον αὐτὸν καὶ ἤδη δυνάμενον σπείρειν, * * * κἂν ἐκεῖνος εὐχάριστος ὢν πρὸς τὰ παιδεύματα, δι᾿ ὧν ἀρετῇ συνεστάθη, χαλεπὸν ἡγῆται παραιτήσασθαι αὐτά, χρησμῷ πραϋνθήσεται θεοῦ τῷ κελεύοντι· "πάντα ὅσα ἂν εἴπῃ Σάρρα, ἄκουε τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῆς" (Gen. xxi. 12).
[136] νόμος ἡμῶν ἔστω | ἑκάστῳ τὸ δοκοῦν ἀρετῇ· εἰ γὰρ πάντων ὅσα παραινεῖ ἡ ἀρετὴ βουλόμεθα ἀκούειν, εὐδαιμονήσομεν.

246 LXXXVIII. Τὸ δὲ "καὶ ἔφαγες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου οὗ ἐνετειλάμην σοι τούτου μόνου μὴ φαγεῖν" ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ συγκατέθου κακίᾳ, ἣν χρή σε ἀνὰ κράτος ἀπείργειν· διὰ τοῦτο "ἐπικατάρατος" οὐχὶ σύ, ⟨ἀλλ᾿⟩ "ἡ γῆ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου" (Gen. iii. 17). τίς οὖν ἡ αἰτία τούτων; ὁ ὄφις ἦν ἡδονή, ἔπαρσις ἄλογος ψυχῆς· αὕτη κατάρατος ἐξ ἑαυτῆς, μόνῳ γέ τοι τῷ φαύλῳ προσγίνεται,

[a] See App. p. 484.

virtue. The wise Abraham complies with her when she recommends the course to follow. For at an earlier time, when he had not yet become perfect but, before his name had been changed, was still only inquiring into supramundane things, being aware that he could not beget seed out of perfect virtue, she advises him to beget children out of the handmaiden, that is school-learning, even Hagar (Gen. xvi. 2 ff.). This name means "Sojourning," for he that is studying to make his home in perfect virtue, before he is registered as a member of her city, sojourns with the subjects learned in the schools, that he may be led by these to apply his unfettered powers to virtue.[a] Afterwards, when she sees him brought to perfection, and capable now of begetting . . . And if he, filled with gratitude towards the education by means of which he was brought into union with virtue, thinks it harsh to reject it, he shall be brought to compliance by an oracle of God bidding him, "In all that Sarah saith to thee listen to her voice" (Gen. xxi. 12). Let that which seems good to virtue be law for each one of us ; for if we choose to hearken to all that virtue recommends, we shall be happy.

LXXXVIII. The words "and thou didst eat of the tree of which alone I commanded thee not to eat" are equivalent to "thou didst consent to wickedness, which it is thy duty to keep off with all thy might": because of this "cursed"—not "art thou" but "is the earth in thy works" (Gen. iii. 17). What then was the reason of this ? The serpent, we saw, was pleasure, an irrational elation of soul. She is accursed on her own account, but mark well that she attaches herself only to the worthless man, not

σπουδαίῳ δ᾽ οὐδενί. ὁ Ἀδὰμ δὲ ὁ μέσος ἐστὶ νοῦς, ὃς τοτὲ μὲν ἀμείνων τοτὲ δὲ χείρων ἐξετάζεται· ᾗ γὰρ νοῦς ἐστιν, οὔτε φαῦλος οὔτε σπουδαῖος εἶναι πέφυκεν, ἀρετῇ δὲ καὶ κακίᾳ πρός τε τὸ εὖ καὶ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον εἴωθε μεταβάλλειν.
247 εἰκότως οὖν οὐκ ἔστι κατάρατος ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς οὔτε κακία ὢν οὔτε κατὰ κακίαν πρᾶξις, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ ἡ γῆ κατάρατος· αἱ γὰρ πράξεις αἱ διὰ τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς, ἣν κέκληκε γῆν, ἐπίληπτοι καὶ ὑπαίτιοι κατὰ κακίαν ἕκαστα δρῶντός εἰσι. παρὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει, ὅτι "ἐν λύπῃ φάγεσαι αὐτήν," ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἴσον τῷ ἀπολαύσεις τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιλύπως· ἐπωδύνως γὰρ ὁ φαῦλος πάντα τὸν βίον χρῆται τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῇ μηδὲν ἔχων χαρᾶς αἴτιον, ὃ πέφυκε γεννᾶν δικαιοσύνη καὶ φρόνησις καὶ αἱ σύνθρονοι ταύτης ἀρεταί.

248 LXXXIX. "Ἀκάνθας οὖν καὶ τριβόλους ἀνατελεῖ σοι" (Gen. iii. 18). ἀλλὰ τί φύεται καὶ βλαστάνει ἐν ἄφρονος ψυχῇ, πλὴν τὰ κεντοῦντα καὶ τιτρώσκοντα αὐτὴν πάθη; ἃ διὰ συμβόλων ἀκάνθας κέκληκεν, οἷς ἡ ἄλογος ὁρμὴ πυρὸς τὸν τρόπον πρώτοις ἐντυγχάνει, μεθ᾽ ὧν ταχθεῖσα πάντα τὰ αὐτῆς καταφλέγει καὶ διαφθείρει. λέγει γὰρ οὕτως· "ἐὰν δὲ ἐξελθὸν πῦρ εὕρῃ ἀκάνθας καὶ προσεμπρήσῃ ἅλωνα ἢ στάχυας ἢ πεδίον, ἀποτίσει ὁ τὸ πῦρ ἐκκαύσας" (Exod. xxii. 6).
249 ὁρᾷς ὅτι τὸ πῦρ ἐξελθόν, ἡ ἄλογος ὁρμή, οὐκ ἐμπίπρησι τὰς ἀκάνθας, ἀλλὰ εὑρίσκει· ζητητικὴ

to any good man. Adam is the neutral mind, which now proves better, now worse. For in so far as he is mind, his nature is neither bad nor good, but under the influence of virtue and vice it is his wont to shift towards good and bad. It is then just as we should expect, that he is not accursed on his own account, inasmuch as he is neither wickedness nor conduct with wickedness for its rule, but the earth is accursed in his works; for the doings of which the whole soul, to which is here given the name of "earth," is the means and occasion, are blameworthy and faulty when he allows wickedness to regulate them in each case. Accordingly he goes on "in sorrow shalt thou eat of it." This is tantamount to "thou shalt sorrowfully get the benefit of being alive." For in pain does the bad man all his life long avail himself of his own vitality. He has no motive for joy. Such a motive is in the nature of things supplied by righteousness and good sense and the virtues that share her throne.

LXXXIX. "Thorns therefore and burrs shall it cause to spring up for thee" (Gen. iii. 18). Nay, what *does* grow and shoot up in the soul of a foolish man, but the passions which goad and wound it? To these, using figures, he has given the name of thorns. These the irrational impulse like a fire meets first, and ranging herself with them burns up and consumes all the soul's possessions. For this is what is said: "If a fire break out and find thorns and go on to burn threshing-floor or standing corn or field; he that kindled the fire shall make restitution" (Exod. xxii. 6). You see that the fire, the irrational impulse, when it has broken out does not burn the thorns but finds them; for being a

γὰρ τῶν παθῶν οὖσα ἃ ἐπόθει λαβεῖν εὗρεν· ὅταν δὲ εὕρῃ, καταφλέγει τρία ταῦτα, ἀρετὴν τελείαν, προκοπήν, εὐφυΐαν· ἀρετὴν μὲν οὖν παραβέβληκε τῇ ἅλῳ, συγκεκόμισται γάρ, ὡς ἐνταῦθα ὁ καρπός, οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ σοφοῦ ψυχῇ τὰ καλά· στάχυσι δὲ τὴν προκοπήν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἑκάτερον ἀτελὲς ἐφιέμενον τοῦ τέλους· πεδίῳ δὲ τὴν εὐφυΐαν, ὅτι
[137] 250 εὐπαράδεκτος σπερμάτων ἀρετῆς ἐστιν. | ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν παθῶν τριβόλια εἴρηκεν, ἐπειδὴ τριττά ἐστιν, αὐτό τε καὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν καὶ τὸ ἐκ τούτων ἀποτέλεσμα, οἷον ἡδονή, ἡδύ, ἥδεσθαι· ἐπιθυμία, ἐπιθυμητόν, ἐπιθυμεῖν· λύπη, λυπηρόν, λυπεῖσθαι· φόβος, φοβερόν, φοβεῖσθαι.

251 XC. "Καὶ φάγεσαι τὸν χόρτον τοῦ ἀγροῦ· ἐν ἱδρῶτι τοῦ προσώπου σου <φάγεσαι τὸν ἄρτον σου>" (Gen. iii. 18, 19). χόρτον καὶ ἄρτον καλεῖ συνωνύμως, πρᾶγμα ταὐτόν· χόρτος ἀλόγου τροφή ἐστιν· ἄλογον δὲ <ὁ> φαῦλος ἐκτετμημένος τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον, ἄλογοι δὲ καὶ αἱ αἰσθήσεις τῆς ψυχῆς οὖσαι μέρος· ὁ δὲ νοῦς ἐφιέμενος τῶν αἰσθητῶν διὰ τῶν ἀλόγων αἰσθήσεων οὐκ ἄνευ πόνου καὶ ἱδρῶτος ἐφίεται· σφόδρα γὰρ ὀδυνηρὸς καὶ ἐπαχθὴς ὁ τοῦ ἄφρονος βίος μετιόντος καὶ ἐπιλιχνεύοντος τὰ ποιητικὰ τῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ τῶν
252 ὅσα κακία ἀπεργάζεσθαι φιλεῖ. καὶ μέχρι τίνος; "μέχρι" φησίν "ἀποστρέψεις εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἐξ ἧς

searcher after the passions it finds what it wanted to get; and when it has found them it burns up these three things, perfect virtue, gradual progress, goodness of natural disposition. Virtue he likens to the contents of the threshing-floor, for as the grain has been gathered together on it, so in the soul of the wise man have been gathered noble things. To the standing corn he likens gradual advance, since either is incomplete and is earnestly set on its completeness. He likens goodness of natural disposition to the field, because it is receptive of the seeds of virtue. He calls each of the passions "burrs" or "three-spiked caltrops," because they are threefold, the passion itself, that which produces it, and the finished result of these. For instance, pleasure, the pleasant, feeling pleasure; desire, the desirable, desiring; sorrow, the sorrowful, feeling sorrow; fear, the fearful, fearing.

XC. "And thou shalt eat the grass of the field; in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread" (Gen. iii. 18 f.). He uses the terms grass and bread as synonyms; the thing meant is the same. Grass is food of an irrational creature; and such is a bad man with the right principle cut out of him; irrational also are the senses, being a part of the soul. But the mind striving to attain the objects of sense by means of the irrational senses, makes this striving not without toil and sweat. For exceeding painful and burdensome is the life of the foolish man, as he pursues with greedy desire all things that are productive of pleasures and of all things that wickedness loves to bring about. And how long is this to be? "Until," He says, "thou shalt turn back into the earth, from which thou wert taken" (Gen. iii.

ἐλήφθης" (Gen. iii. 19). νῦν γὰρ οὐκ ἐν τοῖς γεώδεσι καὶ ἀσυστάτοις ἐξετάζεται τὴν οὐράνιον σοφίαν καταλιπών; πῇ οὖν ἔτι ἀποστρέφεται, σκεπτέον. ἀλλὰ μήποτε ὃ λέγει τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὅτι ὁ ἄφρων νοῦς ἀπέστραπται μὲν ἀεὶ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον, εἴληπται δὲ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς μεταρσίου φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς γεωδεστέρας ὕλης, καὶ μένων δὲ καὶ κινούμενος ὁ αὐτός ἐστιν ἐφιέμενός τε τῶν αὐτῶν.
253 διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει, " ὅτι γῆ εἶ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσῃ " (ibid.), ὅπερ ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ προειρημένῳ. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο· ἡ ἀρχή σου καὶ τὸ τέλος ἓν καὶ ταὐτόν ἐστιν· ἤρξω τε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν φθειρομένων γῆς σωμάτων, τελευτήσεις δὲ πάλιν εἰς ἐκεῖνα τὴν μεταξὺ τοῦ βίου τρίψας ὁδὸν οὐ λεωφόρον ἀλλὰ τραχεῖαν, βάτων καὶ τριβόλων κεντεῖν τε καὶ τιτρώσκειν πεφυκότων μεστήν.

19). For, having forsaken the wisdom of heaven, is he not now ranked with things earthly and chaotic? How then he turns back yet further, we have to consider. But perhaps what he means is of this kind, that the foolish mind has indeed always turned back from the right principle, but has been taken not from the sublime nature but from the more earthly substance, and, whether staying still or in movement, is the same and devoted to the same interests. And that is why he goes on to say, " Earth thou art and into earth shalt thou depart " (*ibid.*), which amounts to what I have already said. It signifies this also, " thine origin and thine end are one and the same, for thou tookest thine origin from earth's decaying bodies, and into them shalt thou again come to thine end, after treading the way of life that comes between, along no high road but on a rough path, full of brambles and burrs whose nature is to prick and wound."

APPENDIX TO
ON THE CREATION

(*N.B.*—*S.V.F.* = Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta.* The references are to sections in Arnim.)

§ 3. Philo starts off with two leading Stoic ideas, "living according to nature" and the "world-citizen." For the former *cf.* Diogenes Laertius vii. 87, "Zeno was the first to designate a (man's) end 'living according to nature.'" For the latter see *S. V.F.* i. 262. The first use of the actual word κοσμοπολίτης is ascribed to Diogenes the Cynic, who, when "asked whence he came, replied 'I am a citizen of the world'" (Diog. Laert. vi. 63).

§ 25. The words bracketed by Cohn are left so bracketed in the text but untranslated.

§ 26. *Time is a measured space*, etc. This is the accepted definition of the Stoics. See *S. V.F.* ii. 509 f. Philo refers to it as Stoic, *De Aet.* 4, and elsewhere in that treatise.

§ 43. *Principles or nuclei*, or perhaps "seed-powers"; οἱ λόγοι is equivalent to οἱ σπερματικοὶ λόγοι. The Stoics conceived of a single λόγος σπερματικός manifesting itself in innumerable λόγοι σπερματικοί, which give things their form. See *S. V.F.* Index, p. 93*a*.

§ 54. The thought of this section is based on *Timaeus* 47 A, B, where Plato says that "God bestowed sight on us that we might observe the orbits of reason which are in heaven, and make use of them for the revolutions of thought which are in our souls" (Archer-Hind's translation).

§§ 72 ff. The idea of these sections is suggested by, or at least receives support from, *Timaeus* 41, 42, where God creates "young gods" or subordinate ministers to carry on the work for the same reason as is given here, *viz.* that He might not be responsible for evil.

§ 80. *And through the livelong year*, or, putting the

comma after ἐκδεχόμενοι, "at the end of each year (at intervals of a year) they gather in."

§ 101. *Equal to the sum of its own factors.* Like 6 (see 13), 28 is the sum of its factors (1 + 2 + 4 + 7 + 14), as are 496 and 8128. The word "perfect" is in strictness applied to such numbers only (Nicomachus i. 10).

§ 102. *Limits*, or "terms." Ὅρος is the technical word for a "term" in a series. In fact, having been translated into Latin as *terminus*, it is the progenitor of our own word.

§ 117. *The remainder of our soul is divided*, etc. This classification is Stoic. It is more usually stated in the form that the soul has eight parts, the ἡγεμονικόν being reckoned as one. See *S.V.F.* ii. 827 ff.

§ 142. *Citizen of the world.* See especially 3 and note. The first man fulfilled the Stoic ideal. This view of the superiority of early mankind, though not confined to the Stoics, was strongly held by them. The Golden Age, said Posidonius, was when "regnum fuit penes sapientes" (Seneca, *Epistle* 90. 5).

§ 148. *Torch.* The figure of the torch-race is very common. Considering, however, Philo's love for Plato, it is reasonable to suppose that he is thinking of the mention of it at the beginning of the *Republic*, 328 A. *Cf. Laws* 776 B.

§ 160. *A human voice.* Philo is here attacking Epicureanism. For the Epicurean doctrine that pleasure is the end aimed at by every living creature see Diogenes Laertius x. 128. Thus the serpent's use of a human voice is interpreted as an allegory showing how vocal and popular that School was. Philo, like most of its opponents, ignores the fact that Epicurus expressly refused to identify pleasure with material pleasures.

§§ 170, 171. The opinions here assailed are (1) that God's existence is doubtful, held by the Sceptics; (2) that the world is without beginning (ἀγένητος), held, according to Philo's own statement in *De Aet.* 10, by Aristotle; the contrary was maintained by Pythagoras, Plato, and the Stoics (*S. V.F.* ii. 575); (3) the plurality of worlds, originally held by Democritus (see *Timaeus* 31 A, and Archer-Hind's note), and afterwards by the Epicureans; (4) that there is no such thing as Providence. This Epicurean tenet is too familiar from Lucretius and other writers to need illustration, but see Diogenes Laertius x. 77, 113, 139.

APPENDIX TO ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I

§ 3. *Multiplication of two unequal factors.* Ἑτερομήκης, though often used more widely by general writers, is a term reserved by the mathematicians for numbers of the form $x(x+1)$, *i.e.* 1×2, 2×3, 3×4, etc. (See Nicomachus ii. 17.) This restricted use of the word obviously fits the present passage.

§ 30. *Impressions . . . active impulse.* The φαντασία, translated now by "presentation," now by "mental picture," conceived of as an imprint (τύπωσις) on the mind, is a thoroughly Stoic idea. (See *e.g.* Diog. Laert. vii. 45; *S.V.F.* ii. 52 ff.) So also is ὁρμή, "impulse" or "appetite." The sense of this section is given more fully and clearly in *Quod Deus* 43.

§ 57. *Theoretical . . . practical.* A more careful classification of the arts is given by Aristotle, *Met.* v. 1, *viz.* — θεωρητικαί, πρακτικαί and ποιητικαί ("productive"). Thus rhetoric and dancing are πρακτικαί, sculpture and poetry ποιητικαί. *Cf.* Quintilian ii. 18.

ibid. Its three parts. This division is claimed for the Stoics by Diogenes Laertius (vii. 39), though actually it appears incidentally in Aristotle, *Topica* i. 14, 105 b 20. The comparison quoted by Diogenes in vii. 40 of τὸ λογικόν to the hedge (φραγμός), τὸ φυσικόν to the field or trees, and τὸ ἠθικόν to the fruit is adopted by Philo in *De Agr.* 14.

§ 60. Another suggestion may be made for emending this passage. Elsewhere Philo explains unexpected silences on Moses' part by his desire to stimulate the mystic to discover some high truth for himself. *E.g.* *L.A.* ii. 55, iii. 239. Note in particular *De Cherubim* 121 *fin.*, where the likeness of diction to this passage is significant. There the silence is stated to be ἵνα ὁ μὴ φυσιολογίας ἀμύητος εἰς

ἐπιστήμην ὠφελῆται. The stimulus to thought, that is to say, will be an actual assistance to the philosophical mind in its quest for knowledge. Here if we change the order of ὁ and μὴ we may perhaps leave the text otherwise undisturbed, translating "that the man versed in natural philosophy may ⟨discover the truth for himself and⟩ revere Him that is for His knowledge." Or we might read (for τὸν ὄντα) τὸν ⟨μεταδόντα τῆς ἐπιστήμης. The sense conveyed will then be that the stimulus to thought will lead to a higher knowledge, and so to reverence for Him who has imparted it.

§ 70. *Our soul is threefold*, etc. This theory is familiar to readers of Plato from the famous myth of the soul's chariot in the *Phaedrus* 246 ff., where τὸ λογικὸν appears as the charioteer, τὸ θυμικὸν and τὸ ἐπιθυμητικὸν as the nobler and baser horses respectively. *Cf. Timaeus* 69 c; *Republic* 439 D. Philo, in fact, reproduces the figure in 72 f., but without Plato's distinction of the character of the two horses. The location of the three in different parts of the body here mentioned is taken from *Timaeus* 69 E, 90 A.

§ 80. *Judah and Issachar*. The idea seems to be that Judah, the mystic representing φρόνησις as a spiritual or mental condition, is ὁ φρόνιμος, while Issachar, who represents the same as carried into practical life, is ὁ φρονῶν. The somewhat unexpected use of ἀσκητής as applied to the mystic may perhaps be explained by laying stress on νέοι. He is a "practiser," but of a wisdom higher than that of practisers in general.

§ 91. *We conceive of God as the soul of the universe.* It is implied that it is not an accurate or adequate expression. *Cf. De Migr.* 199, where the possible danger of this expression, as tending to suggest that God is contained in the universe, is pointed out, and *ibid.* 181, where the thought is further developed. The expression is Stoic (*S.V.F.* ii. 774). The equivalent ἡ τοῦ κόσμου ψυχή is attributed to Cleanthes himself (*S.V.F.* i. 532).

APPENDIX TO ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II

§ 6. Philo is alluding to the Stoic view that the πάθη are mental judgements. See Diogenes Laertius vii. 111 δοκεῖ δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ πάθη κρίσεις εἶναι, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ παθῶν· ἥ τε γὰρ φιλαργυρία ὑπόληψίς ἐστι τοῦ τὸ ἀργύριον καλὸν εἶναι, καὶ ἡ μέθη δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀκολασία ὁμοίως, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα. Here he may mean that he accepts this view in some cases, but not in all; or, perhaps, that his statement that the πάθη are ἄλογα might be doubted if the view that they are κρίσεις be accepted, but is certainly true if that view be rejected.

§ 15. *Greek philosophers.* Presumably this includes (*a*) Plato; see *Cratylus* 401 B, where we are told that the first name-givers must have been considerable persons. *Cf. ibid.* 390 D. (*b*) Pythagoras. In *Tusc. Disp.* i. 62 Cicero, speaking of the greatness of the task of assigning names, says "summae sapientiae Pythagorae visum est."

§§ 16, 18. Having in 16 prepared the way for his interpretation of Gen. ii. 19 by observing that τί = διὰ τί, "why," Philo goes on to make καλεῖν = "invite," "welcome," to treat ψυχὴν ζῶσαν as predicative, putting ὡς before it in his paraphrase, practically to ignore αὐτό as an otiose accusative, πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν being the sufficient object of ἐκάλεσεν. The verse for him has to do, not with assigning names, but with proclaiming affinities. To welcome pleasure, desire, or cowardice as living souls is to proclaim affinity with them, and so to share their title or name.

§ 20. εἴ γε μὴν . . . σαρκίνη δήπου; "if one of the two sides was filled up with flesh, are we to presume that the one not so treated was *not* made of flesh?" Philo captiously presses the words of Gen. ii. 21, ἀνεπλήρωσεν

σάρκα ἀντ' αὐτῆς, to mean that in the filling up a different material, namely flesh, was substituted (*ἀντί*) for the material which was there before; which would of course imply that the other side was of a material other than flesh.

§ 22. *The power of holding together*, etc. This fourfold classification is Stoic (see *S. V. F.* ii. 457-460). It is explained more fully in *Quod Deus* 35 ff. It is difficult to see at first sight how the "naked" mind can have these powers, at any rate that of *ἕξις*, which is the characteristic of inorganic matter. But in *Quod Deus* 35 we find that the *ἕξις* which holds together a stone or a piece of wood is a breath or spirit, which extends itself from the centre of the body in question to its extremes and then reverses its course. Thus *ἕξις* and the others are conceived of as powers distinct from the objects or persons in which they are found. In fact we are told (Themistius, *De anima* 72 B) that the Stoics held that God *πού μὲν εἶναι νοῦν, πού δὲ ψυχήν, πού δὲ φύσιν, πού δὲ ἕξιν*. Seneca translates *ἕξις* when used in this way by *unitas*. The sense seems different, and perhaps has a different origin, from that of "state" or "disposition" (Lat. *habitus*). Zeller, however, equates the two by regarding the *ἕξις* of this passage as simple quality without any further characteristic (*Stoics*, p. 208).

§ 44. For the construction *ταύτῃ κληθήσεται cf.* Jer. xix. 6 *οὐ κληθήσεται τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ ἔτι Διαπτώσις.* In Judges xviii. 12 A has *ἐκλήθη ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ Παρεμβολὴ Δαν*, omitting *ἐν* found in some MSS. before *ἐκείνῳ*. (Or, as the words that follow perhaps suggest, Philo may have taken *ταύτῃ* as an adverb and explained it as *διὰ τοῦτο*.)

§ 46. Rachel, who represents sense-perception (or superficiality), takes her seat upon idols (E.V. "teraphim," Gen. xxxi. 33), and is rebuked by Jacob (or "Israel," the man of vision) when her words show that she imagines that mind is the author and originator of movements.

§ 63. The actual meaning of Num. xxx. 4 ff. is that a woman's vows hold if her father or husband silently acquiesce, but not if they forbid them; whereas those of a widow, seeing there is no such person to prohibit them, must hold. By taking "husband" or "father" to represent reason, Philo extracts the thought that our wishes are not guilty if our reasoned thoughts prohibit them, so that we do not translate them into action. The "widow" stands for the soul, which

has cut itself off from any such controlling influence, and whose guilt is abiding.

§ 65. *They were not ashamed.* The real meaning of the story is of course that they did not *feel* shame, but in 68 ff. Philo gives the words a sense, which they are capable of bearing, "they were not shamed," *i.e.* "brought to do anything shameful."

§ 67. *Intense and fixed*, or "full (or 'deep') coloured." The word κατακορής may be used of any colour. But as in the *Timaeus*, which Philo knew so well, it is associated (68 c) with μέλαν (= "intense black"), he probably uses it here with reference to the complexion of the Ethiopian woman. There may also be a play on its similarity to κόρη in the sense of "a pupil of the eye."

§ 78. *'Tis well that they say*, etc. A clearer meaning could be obtained by reading οὐχ ὅτι "κατελαλήσαμεν ὅτι ἡμάρτομεν," ἀλλ' ὅτι "ἡμάρτομεν ὅτι κατελαλήσαμεν." "It is well that they say, *not* 'we spake against the Lord (laying it to His charge) that we sinned,' *but* 'we sinned (in) that we spake against the Lord.'" This harmonizes with the next words. It was easy for scribes to confuse the ὅτι's.

§§ 83–87. The meaning of these sections seems to be as follows. We here deal with souls which are more blessed than those mentioned above, yet are subjected to a τροπή by God to convince them of their frailty and that of human kind (§ 83). These souls Philo takes to be described in Deut. viii. They are in contrast with those of Num. xxi. in the following ways. First these (the historical situation being ignored) are in Egypt (87 *init.*). As they were "craving for the habitations of Egypt," they are *virtually* (*cf. L.A.* i. 61) in Egypt. The others are in the wilderness, which is the reverse of Egypt. They too, indeed, are bitten by the serpent of pleasure and the scorpion of scattering, yet these bites are not deadly like those of Numb. xxi. And they do not need the brazen serpent of καρτερία to cure them; for they are already καρτερίας ἐρασταί (83). They have the higher spiritual food of the manna and the rock-water, and are thus brought back from their τροπή spiritually enriched. Philo evidently associates himself with these souls.

§ 99. *Four-legged.* The reference is to the four passions, grief, fear, desire, pleasure. See *S.V.F.* iii. 381 ff.

APPENDIX TO ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III

§ 2. *Rustic.* For the Stoic idea that the bad man or fool was essentially ἄγροικος *cf.* *S.V.F.* iii. 169 ff.

§ 7. *The man with an issue* (γονορρυής). Philo clearly alludes to the most famous of the *dicta* of Heracleitus, πάντα (or τὰ ὅλα) ῥεῖ. For illustrative quotations to this see Zeller, *Presocratic Philosophy*, vol. ii. p. 11 n.; for ἀμοιβῇ *ibid.* pp. 27-29. The phrase κόρος καὶ χρησμοσύνη is somewhat obscure, and the evidence conflicting. See Zeller, *op. cit.* pp. 17 n. 3, 38 n., 46 n. 1, 78 n. 1: Ritter and Preller, *Hist. Phil. Graec.* 36 *a*. Philo, who repeats the phrase in *Spec. Leg.* i. 208, evidently uses it here as another example of Heracleitus's belief that the world was a combination of opposites passing into each other without Divine agency.

§ 16. *Jacob stole away*, etc. So E.V. More literally "Jacob kept Laban in the dark, so that he did not tell him." For the genitive of the infinitive in LXX. and N.T. see Moulton's translation of Winer's *Grammar of N.T. Greek*, pp. 410 ff.

§ 32. *There is no blood-guiltiness for him.* Or rather "*to* him" as in 35, "he shall be put to death *for what he has done*." This more than usually perverse piece of allegorizing has a slight justification in the elliptical character of the Greek. Of course αὐτῷ really refers to the slayer of the thief, and this slayer is also the ἔνοχος who ἀνταποθανεῖται, and the lawgiver's meaning is that the homicide of a thief in open daylight is murder. To get the allegorical interpretation which he wants Philo has to give a different sense to ἀποθανεῖν in the two clauses. To Philo the whole passage means that the self-exalting thought which claims what is God's is a thief. Such a thought is self-wounded, but if it is not carried into action it may be said to have died and in

that case is comparatively guiltless; but if it is brought into open daylight, *i.e.* is definitely accepted and acted on, it incurs spiritual death in the fullest sense.

§ 65. *Upon thy breast.* These words, which are interpreted allegorically in 114 ff., are not in the Hebrew.

§ 97. *Those whose philosophy*, etc. For the Stoic argument to the same effect see *S.V.F.* ii. 1009. Philo reproduces much of what he says here in *Spec. Leg.* i. 32-35.

§ 104. *Divine illumination* or "luminaries," *i.e.* the heavenly bodies, often regarded as divine beings.

§ 129. *Moderation of passion.* For the Stoic ideal of ἀπάθεια see *S.V.F.* iii. 448 ff. On the other hand, according to Diogenes Laertius v. 31, Aristotle ἔφη τὸν σοφὸν ἀπαθῆ μὲν μὴ εἶναι, μετριοπαθῆ δέ.

§ 160. *With those who say*, etc. Philo probably alludes to the Epicureans, particularly as he uses their distinctive word for the excitation of bodily pleasure (γαργαλισμός. See Usener, *Epicurea*, pp. 279-281, 288. Cicero (*De Natura Deorum*, i. 113) translates it by *titillatio*, and adds *Epicuri enim hoc verbum est*). Philo, however, misrepresents them, as the quotation in the footnote shows. Epicurus distinguished between "static" or "negative" and "kinetic" or "positive" pleasure.

§ 175. "*Manna*" *means* "*something.*" For the Stoic phraseology which adopted τι, *i.e.* "quiddity," as the most generic and all-embracing of terms in place of the Platonic ἕν and the Aristotelian ὄν see *S.V.F.* ii. 333 and 329. Seneca translated it by *quid* (*ibid.* 332).

§ 188. Philo treats "seed" as synonymous with "origin." For ἐπιβάσεις καὶ ἐφιδρύσεις *cf. L.A.* iii. 53 τόπον . . . ᾧ ἐπιβήσεται ἢ ἐφ' οὗ ἱδρυθήσεται, "find footing or settle himself."

§ 189. *Way of life.* Ἔνστασις, a Stoic or Cynic term for a life lived according to principle, seems to repeat the ἐφιδρύσεις of the previous section. Julian (*Or.* 6, p. 201 A) contrasts the ἔνστασις of the true Cynic with the "wallet" and "beard" which were his outward marks.

§ 206. *Who can assert*, etc. Heinemann rightly notes that Philo in this section voices the Sceptical school rather than his usual views. Elsewhere he passionately affirms that God is ἀσώματος and ἄποιος.

§ 210. This thought of the necessity of a right motive for a right action, though common to all ethics, was especially

insisted upon by the Stoics (*S.V.F.* iii. 516, 517). Philo recurs to it in *De Cherubim* 14 ff. and elsewhere.

§ 218. See Ryle, *Philo and Holy Scripture*, pp. 72 f., for this and other references to Gen. xviii. 12.

§ 239. *There was not one such uncongenial reasoning.* Philo is allegorizing the last words of Gen. xxxix. ff. καὶ οὐθεὶς ἦν τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ εἴσω.

§ 244. In this interpretation of Hagar's name, Philo echoes the common philosophical view that the study of the Encyclia must not be permanent. Thus the author of the treatise on Education, which is placed at the beginning of Plutarch's *Moralia*, and is written from a Stoic point of view, lays down that such subjects must be taken ἐκ παραδρομῆς, and goes on to say that "it is well to travel round many cities, but to make our residence in the best" (*i.e.* philosophy), *De Liberis Educandis*, 10.

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